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Entertaining Account
OF ALL THE
COUNTRIES
OF THE
KNOWN WORLD.

Describing the different

RELIGIONS,	CUSTOMS,
HABITS.	TRAFFICK,
	AND
TEMPERS,	MANUFACTURES.

OF

THEIR INHABITANTS;

THE

Remarkable Curiosities, amongst Them, either of
Art, or Nature;

The great Variety of strange Land and Sea-Animals;
extraordinary Plants, Minerals, &c.

Adorn'd, occasionally, with CUTS of the Habits of the several
People, uncommon Animals, Ceremonies, Buildings, &c. all
curiously engraved.

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MDCCLII,







T H E
D I S C O V E R Y
O F T H E
W E S T - I N D I E S

[Call'd the N E W W O R L D.]

By *C H R I S T O P H E R C O L U M B U S*.

 S that great Part of the World, now called *America*, lay entirely unknown, till a few Centuries ago, and had no Manner of Correspondence with the rest of the World, an Account of the Manner in which it was first discover'd, and of the People that inhabited it that Time, must needs be quite useful and entertaining, as by it we shall learn that Industry and Perseverance is able to accomplish the most difficult Undertaking, and shall see what Mankind are in a State of Nature before they are polished by Arts and Sciences. We shall relate nothing but what has been published by *Columbus's* own Son, who declares that he wrote every Thing either from what he was an Eye-Witness of himself, or from what he gathered from his Father's own Papers.

Christopher Columbus, or *Colon*, was a Native of some obscure Village in the State of *Genoa*; his Father, and several of his Ancestors, Sea-faring People; not in such mean Circumstances, however, but *Columbus* was put to School at *Pavia*, where he was taught Arithmetick, Navigation, Astronamy,

The first Discovery of

Astronomy, Drawing, and Painting, at least sufficient to draw a Landskip, or describe the Situation of a Place: From School he went to Sea, and was in several Engagements with the *Turks* and *Venetians*, and other Nations; in one of which, the Ship he was in being burnt near the Coast of *Portugal*, he had the good Fortune to escape to Shore upon a Plank, and coming to *Lisbon*, found several of his Countrymen and Acquaintance settled in that City, with whom he resided some Time, and afterwards made several Voyages with the *Portuguese* to the North and South, and particularly to *Guinea* on the Coast of *Africa*. While he was in the Service of the *Portuguese*, he married a Wife of some Quality and Fortune, whose Father had been concern'd in several Naval Enterprizes, and was Governor of *Porto Sancto*, one of the *Madeira* Islands; by which Means *Columbus* came into the Possession of his Father-in-Law's Charts, Maps, and Journals, which gave him the first Hint, 'tis said of making Discoveries to the Westward: And here it may be proper to describe the Person of this great Discoverer.

His Son relates, that he was moderately tall, and long-visaged; his Complexion a good red and white; that he had light Eyes; his Cheeks were somewhat full, but neither too fat nor too lean; that in his Youth he had fair Hair, which turned Grey before he was thirty Years of Age; that he was moderate in eating and drinking, affected a plain modest Garb or Dress; that he was naturally grave, but affable to Strangers, and pleasant frequently among his Domesticks; strict and devout in religious Matters; and, though a Seaman, was never heard to swear or curse; that he applied himself chiefly to the Study of Cosmography, Astronomy and Geometry; and, from his Youth, appear'd to have a more than ordinary Passion to understand the State of all Countries on the Face of the Globe, and to make new Discoveries, which probably was his Reason for settling at *Lisbon*, no Nation having push'd their Discoveries further than the *Portuguese* at that Time. And here he was perpetually drawing Maps and Charts, in which he receiv'd great Encouragement from that enterprising People.

Columbus,

Columbus, 'tis said, had three Inducements to believe that there lay a Continent in the *Atlantick* Ocean, not far to the Westward, and that this Continent was contiguous to, or rather Part of the *East-Indies*, under which Name was then comprehended even *Cbina*, and all the Countries to the Eastward of the *Ganges*.

He observed, that *Marinus* had placed the *East-Indies* fifteen Hours to the Eastward of the West Coast of *Africa* and *Europe*, (which was, however, a very gross Mistake,) and that as there could remain but nine Hours more between this Continent and that, in sailing Westward, supposing that Space to be all Sea, which he hoped was a great Part of it Land, he concluded it would be no very long Voyage to the *East-Indies* by the West: And this, by the Way, is the Reason why *America* was called the *Indies*, because the first Discoverers proposed to sail to the *East-Indies* through the *Atlantick* or Western Ocean; and when the Continent of *America* was first found out, they looked upon it to be Part of the Continent of *India*, till they discovered that the South Sea, or Pacifick Ocean, lay between *America* and *India*.

A second Inducement for his attempting these Discoveries Westward, was the Opinions of several learned Men, both Antients and Moderns, that there was another Continent beyond the Western Ocean, either very near or contiguous to the *East-Indies*, and that it was not very far distant from our's: But no Man confirmed *Columbus* more in the Opinion of a Continent that lay to the Westward, than Signior *Paul*, a Physician of *Florence*, with whom he held a constant Correspondence while he resided at *Lisbon*. This Physician in one of his Letters, relates how rich and populous a Country *Cbina* or *Cathay* was, as they had learnt by some Ambassadors who came from thence to the Pope, and from Merchants that had traded thither by Land; that it was full of great Towns, yielded Gold, precious Stones, and Merchandize of incredible Value; and assures him, that the Voyage thither, through the *Atlantick* Ocean, by the West, could not be farther than the Voyage from *Portugal* to *Guinea*, (which though it was a very gross Error)

gave

gave *Columbus* great Encouragement to attempt that Voyage. In short, he computes the Distance between *Lisbon* and *China*, sailing Westward, to be about five thousand Miles, in which he was out two thirds: However, so far was he accidentally in the Right, that the Space between ours and the next Continent to the Westward, was much thereabouts, and gave *Columbus* a Notion that he should meet with Land five or six thousand Miles to the Westward.

A third Inducement to this great Man's undertaking this Discovery, was the Report of some Sea-faring Men, who had used those Western Seas. A *Portuguese* Pilot, named *Martin Vicente*, informed *Columbus*, that being 450 Leagues off Cape St. Vincent, he took up a Piece of carved Wood, which he guessed came from some Island to the Westward, the Wind having long set that Way: And *Peter Corea*, who married his Wife's Sister, assured him, that he saw a Piece of carved Wood drove by the Westerly Winds on *Porto Santo*, one of the *Madeira* Islands; and that there had been thick Canes driven upon those Shores, such as did not grow in this Part of the World; and when the West-Winds blew, Pines were frequently driven on the *Azores*, or Western Islands: Others that had sailed to the Westward of the *Azores* some hundreds of Leagues, affirmed they had seen an Island in those Seas. But his principal Encouragement to this Undertaking, was, according to some, the Sea Charts and Journals of a Pilot who died at his House in *Lisbon*, that appeared to have discovered some Land far to the Westward; and indeed by his persisting so long in the Resolution of sailing in search of a Country beyond the *Atlantick* Ocean, and applying to so many Princes and States for their Assistance, and his stipulating for no other Pay or Reward than the Government of the Lands and Seas he should discover, one would be inclined to think *Columbus* had some Certainty, or at least very high Probability, of his succeeding in this Attempt; otherwise, for a Man to venture to sail so many thousand Miles upon an Ocean till then esteemed boundless, must have been deemed rather rash Temerity, than Wisdom. However, his Son rejects this Story of the Pilot's dying at his House, and leaving

leaving him those Intimations of a Country he had discovered to the Westward, as derogatory to his Father's Honour, who he insists was the first Discoverer of that new World; and no Doubt he was the first that discovered it to any Purpose, so as to plant Colonies and make Settlements there in these latter Ages, which is an Honour that might satisfy his Descendants. One would think however, that the Discovery was made at first by Accident, and indeed as those Seas about the *Azores*, the *Canaries*, the *Cape Verd* Islands, and the Coast of *Guinea* were then constantly navigated by the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, it is not improbable that some of their Ships should have been driven a Fortnight or three Weeks Sail to the Westward of their destin'd Course, and discover'd either the Islands or Continent of *America*, as 'tis said this Pilot did, who died at the House of *Christopher Columbus* in *Lisbon*.

But whatever were the Admiral's Motives to this Undertaking, he chose, it seems, rather to apply to Sovereign Princes and States for their Assistance, than invite private Adventurers into this Project; foreseeing, that if he should himself, or in Partnership with others, arrive at the rich Countries he proposed to visit, the Prince (whose Subjects they were) would claim the Sovereignty of such Places, and dispose of them as he saw fit; or other Princes might fit out Fleets after he had found the Way to this new World, and deprive him and his Fellow Adventurers of the Advantage of their Discovery. It was extremely prudent therefore in him, to endeavour to engage some Foreign Prince in the Design; and, since he could not hope to obtain the Dominion of what he should discover, to stipulate for the second Place in those happy Regions he proposed to come to; *viz.* the Post of Viceroy by Land and Sea, which we find he always insisted on, and at length obtained a Patent for. He might, no Doubt, have been much sooner fitted out by private Owners; but then, their Possession possibly, when they succeeded in the Discovery, would have been more precarious, than their Voyage to this new World was at first thought to be. But to proceed, *Columbus*, having sailed a long while in the *Portuguese* Service, married and settled at *Lisbon*

bon, and advanced his Fortune there, first proposed the finding out a Way to the *East-Indies*, by the Western Ocean, to King *John of Portugal*; and gave such substantial Reasons for the Attempt, that the King seemed to be convinced the Thing was feasible, though he did not approve the Terms our Adventurer proposed: Therefore, while the Affair was negotiating, King *John*, 'tis said, privately dispatched a Ship to the Westward, with Orders to find out if there were any such Lands in those Seas as *Columbus* supposed. But whether the Commander wanted Courage or Capacity for such an Undertaking, it seems he returned without meeting any Thing to his Purpose, and laugh'd at the Conjectures of *Columbus*: At which he was so incensed, that he left *Lisbon*, and went to *Spain*, dispatching at the same Time his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, to *Henry VII.* King of *England*, with Charts and Maps, that might illustrate his Design: But his Brother being taken by Pirates, and not making the Dispatch that was expected, *Columbus* opened his Design to their Majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile* and *Arragon*: And though his Brother *Bartholomew* afterwards reached *England*, and his Proposals were accepted by King *Henry VII.* yet *Columbus* having concluded an Agreement with the Court of *Spain* before he was advertised of his Brother's Success, *England* lost both the Honour and Profit of this important Discovery.

This Affair, it seems, was many Years negotiating; and probably *Columbus* had meditated upon it, and weighed the Difficulties and Hazards of the Undertaking a great while before he communicated it to any Man; for he is acknowledged by all to have been a Man of Prudence and Temper; and possibly, if he had not obtained some Reputation for his Knowledge in Cosmography and Navigation, the Courts he had applied himself to, had treated him no better than they usually do a common Projector; whereas we find he tells their Majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile* and *Arragon*, in one of his Letters, "I have refused to take up with *France*, *England*, and *Portugal*, as appears by the Letters I have received from those

the WEST-INDIES. 9

“ those Princes, and which your Highnesses may see in the
 “ Hands of Dr. *Villalan*, that I may serve your High-
 “ nesses.”

It appears from our own Histories, that his Brother *Bartholomew* was at the Court of *England* in the Year 1480, and that he had before treated with the King of *Portugal*, if not with *Spain*; and I'm apt to think that his Proposals were rejected by the *Spanish* Court at first, which occasioned his applying to *England* and *France*; but Queen *Isabella* encouraging the Scheme, by the Advice of *John Perez*, her Confessor, about the Year 1484, he seemed from that Time to have applied himself wholly to the *Spanish* Court. However, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* being yet engaged in the Wars with the *Moors* in *Spain*, he was still delayed till the Year 1492; when a Supply of Money was provided, and *Columbus* entrusted with the equipping and fitting out three small Ships for the Expedition, in the Harbour of *Palos*. He also obtained a Grant from their Majesties to be Admiral of the Western Seas, with the same Privilege as the Admirals of *Castile* and *Leon* enjoyed; that all Civil Employments, as well as Governments in the Continent, or World to be discovered, should be wholly at his Disposal; and besides the Revenue of the Posts of Admiral and Viceroy, he should enjoy a tenth of all the Profits arising by future Conquests in those yet unknown Lands.

And now *Columbus*, whom his Son from this Time, in his Relation calls Admiral, having equipped and victualled his three Ships, of which the Chief, called the *St. Mary*, he commanded in Person, and the other Two were commanded by the Captains *Martin Alvazo Pinzon*, and *Vincent Pinzon*, two Brothers. This little Squadron, mann'd only with 90 Men, and consequently none of the Vessels of any great Burthen, set Sail from *Palos* for the *Canaries* the 3d of *August*, 1492, and arrived in those Islands the 12th. One of the Ships having received some Damage in this Passage, the Admiral remained there to refit and take in fresh Provisions, till the first of *September*, when he set Sail again upon his grand Design, and departed from *Gran Canaria*, arriving the next Day at *Gomera*, where four
 Days

Days more were spent in laying in Provisions, Wood, and Water ; so that next Thursday in the Morning, which was on the 6th of *September*, 1492, which may be accounted the first setting out upon the Voyage on the Ocean, the Admiral departed from *Gomera*, and stood away to the Westward, but made but little Way, by Reason of the Calm. On *Sunday*, about Day, he found himself nine Leagues West of the Island *Ferro*, where they lost Sight of Land, and many fearing it would be long before they should see it again, sigh'd and wept ; but the Admiral, after comforting them with great Promises of Lands and Wealth, to raise their Hopes and lessen the Fear they had conceived of the Length of the Way, though they sailed eighteen Leagues that Day, he pretended by his Computation it was but fifteen, resolving all his Voyage to keep short in his Reckonings, that his Men might not think themselves so far from *Spain* as they were, if he should truly set down the Way he made, which he yet privately mark'd down. Continuing thus his Voyage, on *Wednesday* the 12th of *September*, about Sun-setting, being about 150 Leagues West of the Island *Ferro*, he discovered a large Body of the Mast of a Tree of 120 Ton, which seemed to have been a long Time upon the Water. There, and somewhat further, the Current set strong towards the North-East ; but when he had ran fifty Leagues further Westward, on the 13th of *September* he found, that at Night-fall the Needle varied half a Point towards the North-East, and at break of Day half a Point more, by which he understood that the Needle did not point at the North Star, but at some other fixed and visible Point. This Variation no Man had observed before, and therefore he had Occasion to be surprized at it ; but he was more amazed the third Day after, when he was almost one hundred Leagues further, for at Night the Needles varied about a Point to the North-East, and in the Morning they pointed upon the Star. On Saturday the 15th of *September*, being almost three hundred Leagues West of *Ferro*, at Night they saw a wonderful Flash of Light fall from the Sky into the Sea, about four or five Leagues Distance from the Ships, towards the South-West, though the Weather

was

was then fair, like *April*, the Wind favourable at North-East, the Sea still, and the Current setting at North-East. The Men aboard the Caraval called *la Ninna*, told the Admiral they had the *Friday* before seen a Heron and another Sort of Bird, which the *Spaniards* call *Rabo de Junco*, which they were amazed at, those being the first Birds they had seen : But they were more surpris'd the next Day, which was *Sunday*, at the great Abundance of Weeds between green and yellow, that appeared upon the Water, which seemed to be newly washed away from some Island or Rock. They saw enough of these Weeds the next Day, which made many affirm they were already near Land, especially because they saw a small Lobster alive among the Weeds, which they said somewhat resembled the Herb *Star-wort*, but that the Stalk and Branches were long, and it was all full of small Seeds. Afterwards they observed that the Sea Water was but half as salt as before ; besides, that Night, abundance of *Tunny* Fishes followed them, running along, and sticking so close to them, that those aboard the Caraval *Ninna*, killed one with a bearded Iron. Being now three hundred and sixty Leagues West of *Ferro*, they saw another of those Birds the *Spaniards* call *Rabo de Junco*, because of a long Feather their Tail consists of, and in *Spanish*, *Rabo* signifies a Tail, as *Junco* is a Rush, so that *Rabo de Junco* imports Rush Tail. On *Tuesday* following, being the 12th of *September*, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, who was gone a-head with the Caraval called *Pinta*, which was an excellent Sailor, lay for the Admiral, and told him he had seen a great Number of Birds fly away Westward, for which Reason he hoped to find Land that Night, and he thought he saw the Land to the Northward, fifteen Leagues distant, that Day about Sun-setting, looking very dark and cloudy. But the Admiral knowing for certain it was no Land, would not lose Time to discover it, as all his Men would have had him ; for as much as he was not yet come to the Place where he expected by his Computation to find Land, therefore they took in their Top-sails at Night, because the Wind freshen'd, having for eleven Days never abated one Handful of Sail, going still before the Wind Westward.

All the Men aboard the Ships being unacquainted with that Voyage, and fearful of the Danger, because far from any Relief, there were some that began to mutter, and seeing nothing but Sky and Water, carefully observed every Thing that appeared, at a greater Distance from Land than any had before: For which Reason I will relate all they made any Account of, and this only in the first Voyage; for I shall not mention lesser Tokens, generally seen upon such Occasions. On the 19th of *September*, in the Morning, a Fowl called *Alcatraz*, which is a Sort of Sea Gull, flew over the Admiral's Ship, and others in the Afternoon, which made him conceive Hopes of Land, he imagining they would not fly very far from it. Upon these Hopes, as soon as the Wind abated, they sounded with two hundred Fathom of Line; and though they found no Bottom, they found the Current now set South West. On *Thursday* the 22d, two Hours before Noon, two *Alcatrazes* came to the Ship, and another some Time after; besides they took a Bird like a Heron, but that it was black, and had a white Tuft on the Head, the Feet like a Duck, as commonly Water Fowls have: They also caught a little Fish, and saw abundance of Weeds; and about Evening there came aboard three Land Fowls singing, but at Break of Day they flew away; which was some Comfort to them, considering that the other Fowls being large and used to the Water, might better go far from Land, but that these little ones could not come from any far distant Country. Three Hours after they saw another *Alcatraz*, and there appeared more Weeds than before towards the North, as far as they could see; which Things sometimes were a Comfort to them, believing they might come from some near Land; and sometimes they caused Dread, because they were so thick, that in some Measure they stay'd the Ships; and Fear making Things worse than they are, they apprehended that might befall them, which is fabulously reported of *St. Amaro* in the frozen Sea, who is said not to suffer Ships to stir backwards or forwards; and therefore they steered away from the Shoals of Weeds as much as they could. But to return to Tokens: The next Day they saw a Whale, and

and on *Saturday* following, being the 22d of *September*, some small Birds, and the Wind those Days blew at South West, sometimes more, and sometimes less West; which, though contrary to their Voyage, the Admiral said he looked upon as very good, and a Help to them, because his Men continually muttering, among other Things that increased their Fear, said this was one. That since the Wind was always right a-stern, they should never in those Seas have a Gale to carry them back; and though sometimes they found the contrary, they alledged it was no settled Wind, and that not being strong enough to swell the Sea, it would never carry them back so far as they had to fail. Whatsoever the Admiral could say, telling them that the Reason was the Land's being now near, which did not suffer the Waves to rise, and using the best Arguments he could, yet he affirms he stood in Need of God's particular Assistance, as *Moses* did when he led the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, who forbore laying violent Hands on him, because of the Prodigies God wrought by his Means. So says the Admiral, it happened to him in that Voyage; for upon *Sunday* following the Wind started at W. N. W. with a rowling Sea, as the Men wished, and three Hours before Noon they saw a Turtle fly over the Ship, and about Evening, an *Alcatraz*, a River Fowl, and other white Birds, and some Crabs among the Weeds; and the next Day they 'spy'd another *Alcatraz*, and several small Birds that came from the West, and small Fishes, whereof the Men of the other Vessels stuck some with harping Irons, because they would not bite at the Hook.

The more the aforesaid Tokens were found vain, the more they took Occasion to apprehend and mutter, caballing together, and saying, the Admiral (out of a foolish Fancy of his own) had designed to make himself a great Lord, at the Expence of their Lives and Danger; and since they had done their Duty in trying their Fortune, and had gone further from Land and any Succour than any others had done, they ought not to destroy themselves, nor proceed in that Voyage, since if they did they should have Cause to repent; for Provisions would fall short, and the Ships fail, which they knew were already so faulty, that it

would be hard to get back so far as they were gone, and that none would condemn them for so doing, but they would rather be look'd upon as brave Men, for going upon such a Design, and venturing so far; and that the Admiral being a Foreigner, and having no Favour at Court, and so many wise and learned Men having condemned his Opinion, there would be no Body now to favour and defend him, and they should sooner find Credit if they accused him of Ignorance and Mismanagement, than he, whatsoever he could say for himself. Nor did there want some who said, that to end all Dispute, in case he would not acquiesce with them, they might make short, and throw him overboard, and give out, that as he was making his Observations, he dropped into the Sea, and no Man would go about to enquire into the Truth of it, which was the readiest Way for them to return home and secure themselves. Thus they went on from Day to Day, muttering, complaining, and consulting together; nor was the Admiral without Apprehensions of their Inconstancy, and ill Intentions towards him: Therefore, sometimes with good Words, and sometimes with a full Resolution to expose his Life, putting them in Mind of the Punishment due to them if they obstructed the Voyage, he in some Measure quell'd their Apprehensions, and suppress'd their ill Designs. To confirm the Hope he gave them, he put them in Mind of the afore-said Signs and Tokens, assuring them they would soon find Land; which Signs they were so attentive to, that they thought every Hour a Year till they saw Land. On *Tuesday* the 25th of *September*, about Sun-setting, as the Admiral was discoursing with *Pinzon*, whose Ship was very near, the said *Pinzon* on a sudden cryed out, *Land, Land, Sir! Let not my good News miscarry*; and shew'd him towards the South-West, a Bulk which looked very like an Island, about twenty-five Leagues from the Ships. This was so pleasing to the Men, that they returned Thanks to Almighty God; and the Admiral, (who had given no Credit to these Words) to please the Men, and that they should not obstruct his Voyage, stood that Way a great Part of the Night. Next Morning they perceived that what they had
seen

seen were only Clouds, which often look like Land ; for which Reason, to the great Dissatisfaction of most of the Sailors, they turned the Sterns of their Ships Westward, as they had always done, except when the Wind hindered, Continuing still attentive to the Signs, they saw an *Alcatraz*, a *Rabo de Junco*, and other Birds, like those before-mentioned. On *Thursday* the 27th of *September*, in the Morning they saw another *Alcatraz* coming from the West, and sailing Eastward ; an abundance of Fishes, with gilt Backs, appeared, whereof they struck one with a Harping Iron. A *Rabo de Junco* flew by them, and they found that the Currents, for those last Days, were not so regularly fix'd as they used to be before, but turned with the Tide, and there were not so many Weeds as before. On *Friday* following, all the Ships took some Fishes with gilt Backs, and on *Saturday* they saw a *Rabo de Junco* ; which, though it is a Sea Fowl, does not rest on it, but flies always in the Air, pursuing the *Alcatrazes*, till it makes them drop their Excrements for Fear, which it catches in the Air for its Nourishment ; and thus it maintains itself on the Sea, and it is reported there are many of them about the Islands of *Cabo Verde*. Soon after they saw two more *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of flying Fishes, which are about a Span long, and have two little Wings like a Bat ; they fly about a Pike high from the Water, and a Musket-shot in Length, more or less, and they sometimes drop upon the Ships. In the Afternoon they saw abundance of Weeds lying in Length North and South, as they had done before, besides three *Alcatrazes*, and a *Rabo de Junco* that pursued them.

On *Sunday* Morning, four *Rabo de Junco's* came to the Ship ; by reason of whose coming so together, it was thought the Land was nearer, especially because soon after there flew by four *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of Weeds were seen in a Line lying W. N. W. and E. S. E. and also a great Number of those Fishes they call *Emperadores*, which have a very hard Skin, and are not fit to eat. How much soever the Admiral regarded these Tokens, yet he never forgot those in the Heavens, and the Course of the Stars. He therefore observed in this Place, to his great Admirati-

on,

on, that the *Charles Wain* at Night appeared in the West Point, and in the Morning they were directly N. E. by which he gathered, that their whole Night's Course was but three Lines, or nine Hours, that is, so many Parts of 24; and this he made out every Night. He also perceiv'd, that at Night-fall the Compass varied a whole Point to the North-West, and at Break of Day it came right with the Star. These Things confounded the Pilots, till he told them the Cause of it was the Compass the Star took about the Pole, which was some Satisfaction to them; for this Variation made them apprehend some Danger in such an unknown Distance from Home, and such strange Regions.

On Monday the first of *October*, after Sun-rising, an *Alcatraz* came to the Ship, and two more about Ten in the Morning, and long Streams of Weeds lay from East to West. That Day, in the Morning, the Pilot of the Admiral's Ship said they were 578 Leagues West of the Island of *Ferro*; the Admiral said, by his Account, they were 584 Leagues; but in private he concluded it was 707, which is 129 Leagues more than the Pilot reckoned. The other two Ships differed very much in their Computation, for the Pilot of the *Caraval Ninna*, on *Wednesday* following, after Noon said they had sailed 540 Leagues, and the other of the *Caraval Pinta*, said 634. Adding all they had sailed during those three Days, they were still much short of Truth, for they went always before the Wind, and had run much more. But the Admiral, as has been said, winked at this gross Mistake, that the Men might not be quite dejected, being so far from Home. The next Day, being the 2d of *October*, they saw abundance of Fish, caught a small Tunny, and saw a white Bird, and many other small ones, and the Weeds they saw were withered, and almost fallen to Powder. The next Day after, seeing no Birds, but some Fish, they mistrusted they had left some Islands on both Hands, and were slipped between without discovering them, guessing that those many Birds they had seen were passing from one Island to another. They were very earnest to steer either one Way or to the other, to seek out those Lands they imagined; but the Admiral would not consent, being unwilling

lose the fair Wind that carried him away to the Westward, which he accounted the surest Course ; and besides, because he thought it was a lessening the Reputation of his Undertaking, to run from one Place to another, seeking that which he always affirmed he well knew where to find. For this Reason, the Men were ready to mutiny, continuing to mutter and conspire against him ; but it pleased GOD, as we find above, to assist him by the Means of fresh Tokens, for on *Thursday* the 4th of *October*, after Noon, about forty Sparrows together, and two *Alcatrazes*, flew so near the Ships, that a Seaman kill'd one of them with a Stone ; and before this they had seen another Bird like a *Rabo de Junco*, and another like a Swallow, and a great many flying Fishes fell into their Ships. Next Day there came a *Rabo de Junco* and an *Alcatraz* from the Westward, and an abundance of Sparrows were seen. On *Sunday* the 7th of *October*, about Sun-rising, some Signs of Land appeared Westward, but being imperfect, no Man would speak of it ; not so much for the Shame that would follow of asserting what was not, as for fear of losing thirty Crowns a Year their Catholick Majesties had promised for Life to him that should first discover Land ; and to prevent their crying Land, Land, at every Turn, as they might do without sufficient Cause, out of Covetousness of that Allowance, it was ordered, that whosoever said he saw Land, if it was not made out in three Days after, should lose the Reward, though afterwards he should prove the first Discoverer. All aboard the Admiral being thus forewarned, none of them durst cry out Land ; but those in the Caraval *Ninna*, which was a better Sailer, and kept a Head, believing it to be certainly Land, fired a Gun, and put out the Colours in Token of Land. But the further they sailed, the more their Joys vanished, till that Appearance quite disappeared, tho' it pleas'd GOD soon after to give them some Manner of Comfort, for they saw great Flights of great Fowl, and others of small Land Birds, flying from the West towards the South-West, Therefore, the Admiral being now so far from *Spain*, and sure that such small Birds would not go far from Land, he altered his Course, which till then was West, and stood to the

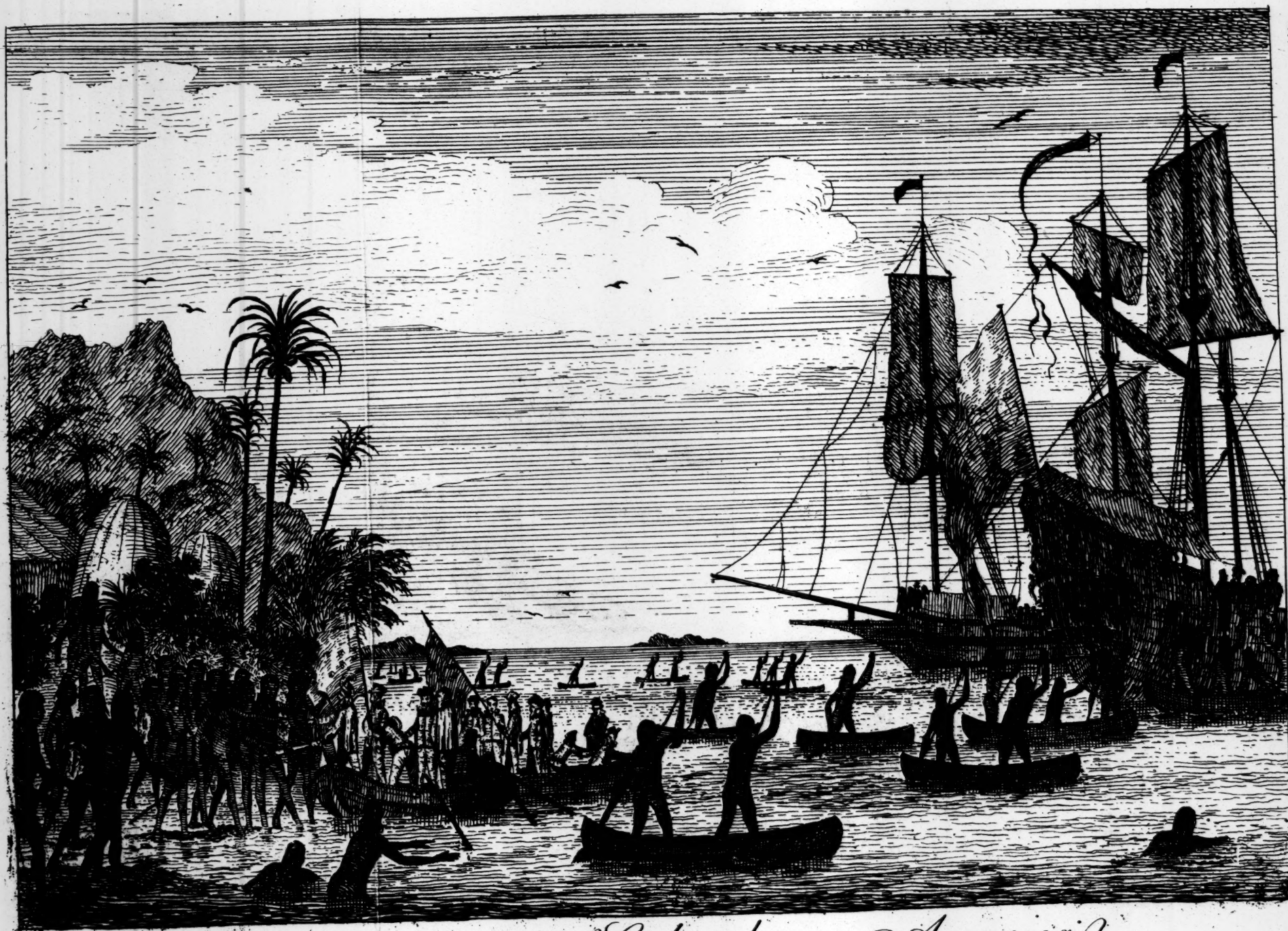
the South-West, saying, that if he changed his Road, it was because he deviated but little from his first Design, and because he would follow the Example of the *Portuguese*, who had discovered most of their Islands by Means of such Birds, and the more, because those they saw followed almost the same Way he had always proposed to himself to find Land, according to the Place they were then in, since (as they well knew he had often told them) he never expected to find Land till he was 750 Leagues to the Westward of the *Canaries*; within which Distance he had further said he should discover *Hispaniola*, which he then called *Cipango*, and there is no Doubt but he had found it, had not he known it was reported to lie in Length North to South: For which Reason he had not inclined more to the South to run upon it, and therefore that and others of the *Caribbee* Islands lay now on his Larboard Side, South of him, whether those Birds were directing their Course. Being so near the Land, was the Reason they continually saw such abundance of Birds; and on *Monday* the 8th of *October*, there came to the Ship twelve singing Birds of several Colours, and after flying a Turn about the Ship, they held on their Way. They also saw from the Ships, many other Birds, flying towards the South West, and that same Night abundance of large Fowls were seen, and Flights of small Birds coming from the Northward, and flying after the rest: Besides, they saw a good Number of *Tunny* Fish. In the Morning they spy'd a *Jay*, an *Alcatraz*, *Ducks*, and small Birds, flying the same Way the others had done; and they perceived the Air to be fresh and odoriferous, as it is at *Seville* in *April*. But they were now so eager to see Land, that they had Faith in no Signs whatsoever; so that, tho' on *Wednesday* the 10th of *October* they saw abundance of Birds pass by both Day and Night, yet the Men did not cease to complain, nor the Admiral to blame their Want of Courage; declaring to them, that right or wrong they must go on in discovering the *Indies* their Catholick Majesties had sent them to-

The Admiral being no longer able to withstand so many as opposed him, it pleased GOD that on *Tuesday* the 11th of

of *October*, after Noon, the Men took Heart and rejoiced, having manifest Tokens that they were near Land; which were, that those aboard the Admiral saw a green Rush swim by the Ship, and then a great green Fish of that Sort, that goes not far from the Rocks. Those aboard the Caraval *Pinta*, saw a Cane and a Staff, and took up another Staff curiously wrought, and a small Board, and abundance of Weeds fresh washed away from the Banks. Those in the Caraval *Ninna* saw other such-like Tokens, and a Branch of a Thorn full of red Berries, which seemed to be newly broke off. By these Tokens, and Reason itself, the Admiral being assured he was near Land, at Night (after Prayers) he made a Speech to all the Men in general, putting them in Mind how great a Mercy it was that GOD had brought them so long a Voyage, with such fair Weather, and comforting them with Tokens, which every Day were plainer and plainer; therefore he prayed them to be very watchful that Night, since they well knew that in the first Article of the Instructions he gave each Ship at the *Canary* Islands, he ordained that when they had sailed seven hundred Leagues to the Westward, without discovering Land, they should lay by from Midnight till Day. Therefore, since they had not yet obtained their Desires in discovering Land, they should at least express their Zeal in being watchful. And for as much as he had most assured Hopes of finding Land that Night every one should be in his Place; for besides the Gratuity their Majesties had promised of thirty Crowns a Year for Life to him that first saw Land, he would give him a Velvet Doublet. After this, about ten at Night, as the Admiral was in the great Cabin, he saw a Light ashore, but said it was so blind that he could not affirm it to be Land, though he called one *Peter Gutierres*, and bid him observe whether he saw the Light, who said he did; but presently they called one *Roderick Sanches*, of *Segovia*, to look that Way, but he could not see it, because he came not up Time enough where it might be seen; nor did they see it afterwards above once or twice, which made them judge it might be a Candle or Torch belonging to some Fisherman or Traveller, who had lifted it up, and let it fall

down ; or perhaps that they were People going from one House to another, because it vanished and suddenly appear'd again ; so that few would guess but that they were near Land. Being now very much upon their Guard, they still held on their Course, till about Two in the Morning the *Caraval Pinta*, which being an excellent Sailor, was far a-head, gave the Signal of Land, which was first discovered by a Sailor, whose Name was *Roderick de Triana*, being two Leagues from Shore. But the thirty Crowns a Year was not granted by their Catholick Majesties to him, but to the Admiral, who had seen the Light in the midst of Darkness, signifying the Spiritual Light he was then spreading in those dark Regions. Being now near Land, all the Ships lay by, thinking it a long Time till Morning, that they might see what they had so long desired.

Day appearing, they perceived it was an Island fifteen Leagues in Length, plain, without Hills, and full of green Trees and delicious Waters, with a great Lake in the Middle, inhabited by abundance of People, who ran down to the Shore astonished, and admiring at the Sight of the Ships, believing them to be some living Creatures, and were impatient to know certainly what they were. Nor were the Christians less hasty to know them, whose Curiosity was quickly satisfied, for they soon came to an Anchor : The Admiral went ashore with his Boat well armed, and the Royal Standard displayed, as did the Captains of the other two Ships in their Boats, with their particular Colours of this Enterprize, which were a green Cross with an *F.* on the one Side, and on the other the Names of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* (or *Elizabeth*) crowned. Having all given Thanks to GOD, kneeling on the Shore, and kissing the Ground with Tears of Joy, for the great Mercy received, the Admiral stood up, and called that Island *St. Salvador*. After that, he took Possession for their Catholick Majesties in the usual Words, and with the Solemnity proper in those Cases ; Abundance of the Natives that were come out, being present, and consequently the Christians admitted him as Admiral and Viceroy, and swore to obey him, as representing their Highnesses Persons, and with such Expressions of Joy, as became



The first Landing of Columbus at America?

became their mighty Succes, all of them begging his Pardon for all the Affronts they had done him through their Fear and Irresolution. Abundance of the *Indians* being come down to this Rejoicing, and the Admiral perceiving they were peaceable, quiet, and very simple People, he gave them some red Caps, and Strings of Glafs Beads, which they hung about their Necks, and other Things of small Value, which they valued as if they had been Stone of high Price.

The Admiral being gone off in his Boats, the *Indians* followed him to them and to the Ships swimming, and others in their Canoes, carrying Parrots, Bottoms of spun Cotton, Javelins, and other such Trifles, to barter for Glafs Beads, Bells, and other Things of small Value. Like People in their original Simplicity, they went naked as they were born, and a Woman that was among them had no other Cloathing. Most of them were young, not above thirty Years of Age, of a good Stature, their Hair lank, thick, very black and short, being cut above their Ears, except some few who had let it grow down to their Shoulders, and had ty'd it with a strong Thread about their Head, like Women's Tresses. Their Countenances were pleasant, and their Features good, but their too high Foreheads made them look somewhat wild. They were of a middle Stature, well shaped, plump, but of an Olive Colour, like the People of the *Canaries*, or Peasants that are Sun-burned. Some were painted with black, some with white, and others with red; some only the Faces, others the whole Body, and others nothing but the Eyes and Nose. They had no Weapons like our Men, nor Knowledge of them; for when the Christians shew'd them a naked Sword, they took it simply by the Edge: Nor had they any Knowledge of Iron, and therefore they made their Javelins we mentioned, of Wands, with the Points hardened at the Fire, arming them with Fish Bone instead of Iron. Some of them having Scars of Wounds about them, and being asked by Signs how they came by them, they answered by Signs, that People came from other Islands to take them away, and they received those Wounds in their own Defence.

fence. They seemed ingenious, and of a voluble Tongue, for they easily repeated the Words they once heard. There were no Sort of Creatures there but Parrots, which they carried to barter among other Things we have spoke of, and in this Trade they continued till Night. Next Day, being the 13th of *October*, in the Morning, many of them came down to the Shore, and went aboard in their Boats called Canoes, which were made of one Piece, being the Body of a Tree hollowed like a Tray. The biggest of them were so large, that they contained forty or forty-five Men, and so less and less, till some would hold but one. They rowed with a Paddle like a Baker's Peal, or those they use in dressing Hemp; true it is, that the Oars are not fixed on the Side with Pins to turn as our's are, but they dip them in the Water, and pull back as if they were digging. These Canoes are so light and so artificially built, that if they overset, they soon turn them right again swimming, and empty the Water by throwing the Vessel from Side to Side like a Weaver's Shuttle, and when it is above half out, they lade out what remains with dry'd Calabashes cut in two, which they carry for that Purpose. That Day they brought such Things to barter for, as they had the Day before, giving all they had for any small Thing they could get. Jewels, or any Sort of Metal, were not seen among them, except some small Plates of Gold, which hung at their Nostrils; and being asked whence they had that Gold, they answered by Signs, towards the South, where there was a King who had abundance of Pieces and Vessels of Gold; expressing, that towards the South and South-West, there were many other Islands and large Countries. Being very covetous of any Thing of our's, and being themselves but poor, and having nothing to give in Exchange, as soon as they came on board, if they could lay their Hands on any Thing, though it were but a Piece of a broken earthen glazed Dish or Porringer, they leaped into the Sea and swam ashore; and if they brought any Thing aboard, they would give it for any trifling Thing of our's, or a Bit of broken Glass; so that some of them gave sixteen Bottoms of Cotton for three small Pieces of *Portuguese* Brass Coin, not worth

worth a Farthing : These Bottoms weighed twenty-five Pounds, and the Cotton was very well spun. Thus they spent the Day, and at Night they all went ashore. It is to be observed, that their Liberality in Dealing did not proceed from the great Value they put upon those Things themselves which they had of our Men, but because they valued them as being our's, looking upon it as most certain, that our Men were come down from Heaven, and therefore they earnestly desired to have something left them as a Memorial.

Next *Sunday*, being the 15th of *October*, the Admiral ran along the Coast of the Island, towards the North-West, in his Boats, to discover something about it; and that Way he went, he found a large Bay, or Harbour, capable of containing all the Ships in Christendom. The People seeing him coast along, ran after along the Shore, crying out, and promising to give him Provisions, calling others to see the People dropped from Heaven upon Earth, and lifted up their Hands to Heaven, as it were, giving Thanks for their coming. Many of them swimming, or in their Canoes, as best they could, came to the Boats, asking by Signs whether they were come down from Heaven, and praying them to land and rest themselves. The Admiral gave them all Glass Beads, Pins, and other Trifles, rejoicing at their great Simplicity, till he came to a Peninsula, which made a good Port, and were a good Fort might be made. There he saw six Houses of the *Indians*, with Gardens about them, as pleasant as they are in *Spain* in *May*; but his Men being weary of rowing, and he plainly perceiving that was none of the Land he looked for, nor so beneficial as that he should make any longer Stay there, he took seven of those *Indians* to serve him as Interpreters; and returning to his Ships, sailed for other Islands that could be discovered from the Peninsula, and appeared to be plain, green, and very populous, as the *Indians* themselves affirmed. The next Day, being *Monday* the 16th of *October*, he came to one that was seven Leagues from the other, and called it *St. Mary of the Conception*. That Side of this Island next *St. Salvador*, extended North-West five Leagues in Length,
but

but the Admiral went to that Side which lies East and West, and is above ten Leagues in Length; and being come to an Anchor towards the West, landed to do as he had done in the other. Here the People of the Island ran together to see the Christians, admiring as the others had done. The Admiral perceiving this was the same Thing as the last, the next Day, being *Tuesday*, sailed Westward to another Island considerably bigger, and anchored upon the Coast of it, which runs North-West and South-East, above twenty-eight Leagues. This was like the others, plain, had a fine Strand, and was called *Fernandina*. Before they came to this Island, and that of the *Conception*, they found a Man in a small Canoe, who had a Piece of their Bread, and a Calabash of Water, and a little Earth like Vermillion, where-with those People paint their Bodies, as was said before, and some dry Leaves which they value, as being of a sweet Scent and wholesome; and in a little Basket he had a String of Beads of green Glass, and two small Pieces of *Portuguese* Money; by which it was guessed that he was coming from *St. Salvador*, that he had passed by the *Conception*, and was going to *Fernandina*, to carry News of the Christians: But because the Way was far, and he weary, he came to the Ships, was taken up with his Canoe, and courteously treated by the Admiral, designing as soon as he came to Land, to send him ashore; which he did, that he might spread the News. The good Account he gave, caused the People of *Fernandina* to come aboard in their Canoes, to exchange the same Sort of Things the others had done before, for these People were like the rest; and when the Boat went ashore for Water, the *Indians* very readily shew'd where it was, and carried the small Casks full on their Shoulders, to fill the Hogsheads in the Boat. They seemed to be a wiser and discreeter People than the first, and as such bargain'd harder for what they exchanged, had Cotton Cloth in their Houses, and Bed Cloaths; and the Women cover'd their Privities with short hanging Cotton Cloths, and others with a Sort of Swathe. Among other notable Things they saw in that Island, were some Trees which seemed to be grafted, because they had Leaves and Branches of four or five several Sorts,

and

and yet were natural. They also saw Fishes of several Shapes and fine Colours, but no Sort of Land Creatures but Lizards and Snakes. The better to discover the Island, they sailed away North-West, and came to an Anchor at the Mouth of a beautiful Harbour; at the Entrance whereof was a small Island, and therefore they could not get in, there being but little Water; nor did they much care, because they would not be far from a Town that appeared at a Distance; for in the biggest Island they had yet seen, they had not found above twelve or fifteen Houses together, built like Tents, in which they saw no other Ornaments or Moveables, but what they carried to the Ships to exchange. Their Beds were like a Net, drawn together in the Nature of a Sling ty'd to two Posts in their Houses, in which they lie. Here they saw some Dogs like Mastiffs, and others like Beagles, but none of them barked.

Finding nothing of Value in this Island *Fernandina*, on Friday the 19th of *October* they sailed away to another, called *Saomotto*, to which he gave the Name of *Ifabella*, to proceed regularly in his Names; for the first which the *Indians* called *Guanabani*, he called *St. Salvador*, or *St. Saviour*, in Honour of GOD, who had shewed it and delivered him from many Dangers: The second for his particular Devotion to the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*; and because she is the great Patroness of Christians, he called it *St. Mary of the Conception*: The third he called *Fernandina*, in Honour of the Catholick Queen; and the next after it which was *Cuba*, he stiled *Joanna*, in Respect to Prince *John*, Heir of *Castile*, having in these Names regard to both Spirituals and Temporals. True it is, that as to Goodness, Extent, and Beauty, he said this *Fernandina* far exceeded the others; for besides that it abounded in delicious Waters, pleasant Meadows and Trees, among which were many of *Alves*, there were in it some Hills, which the others wanted, being very plain. The Admiral, enamoured with its Beauty, and to perform the Ceremony of taking Possession, landed upon some Meadows as pleasant and delightful as they are in *Spain* in *April*; and there was heard
the

the singing of Nightingales and other Birds so sweet, that he could scarce depart. Nor were they only about the Trees, but flew through the Air in such Swarms, that they darkened the Sun and most of them differed much from our Birds. There being abundance of Waters and Lakes, near to one of them they saw a Sort of Alligator seven Feet long, and about a Foot wide in the Belly; which being disturbed by our Men, threw itself into the Lake, but it not being deep they killed it with their Spears, not without Dread and Admiration, because of its fierce and frightful Look. Time afterwards made them look upon this as a Dainty, it being the best Food the *Indians* had; for as much as when that horrid Skin, and the Scales that cover it, are taken off, the Flesh is very white and very delicious, the *Indians* call them *Yvanas*. Being very desirous, to know more of that Country, and it being then late, they left that Creature till the next Day, when they killed another as they had done the first; and travelling up the Land, found a Town, the People whereof fled, carrying away as much of their Goods as they could. The Admiral would not suffer any Thing of what they had left to be taken away, lest they should look upon the Christians as Thieves: Therefore their Fear being soon over, they came of their own Accord to the Ships to barter, as the others had done.

The Admiral having learned the Secrets of the Island *Isabella*, its Product, and the Manners of the People, would lose no more Time among those Islands, because they were many, and like one another, as the *Indians* said. He therefore set Sail with a fair Wind for a very large Country, much applauded by them all, called *Cuba*, which lay towards the South, and on Sunday the 28th of October he came up with the Coast of it, and on the North Side. This Island at first Sight appeared to be better and richer than those before named, as well by Reason of the Beauty of its Hills and Mountains, as for the Variety of Trees, the large Plains, and the Greatness and Extent of its Coasts and Rivers. Therefore to get some Knowledge of its People, he came to an Anchor in a large River, where the Trees were very thick and tall, adorned with Fruit and Blossoms, differing from

from ours, and were there were abundance of Birds, the Place most delicious, for the Grass was high, and nothing like ours; and though there were several Sorts of Herbs known to us, yet the great Variety made our Men not know them. Going to two Houses that were not far off, they found the People were fled for Fear, and had left their Nets, and all other Fishing Tackle, and a Dog that did not bark. As the Admiral had ordered, nothing was touch'd, for it was enough for him at present to see what their Food and Necessaries were. Returning to their Ships they held on their Course Westward, and came to another River, which the Admiral called *de Mares*, or of Seas. This much exceeded the other, because a Ship could turn it up, and the Banks were much inhabited; but the People seeing the Ships, fled towards the Mountains, which appear'd, and were high, round, and cover'd with Trees and pleasant Plants, whither the *Indians* conveyed all they could carry away. The Admiral being disappointed, by the People's Fear, of learning any thing of the Nature of the Island, and considering if he landed with many Men, it would increase their Terror, he resolved to send two Christians, with one of the *Indians* he brought from *St. Salvador*, and with one of that Country, who ventured to come aboard in his Canoo. These he order'd to travel up into the Country, making much of the Natives they met by the Way, and that no Time might be lost, while they were going, he ordered the Ship to be laid ashore to careen her, where they observed that all the Fire they made was Mastick, whereof there was plenty all the Country over. This Tree is in all Respects like our Mastick Tree, but much bigger.

The Ship being repaired and ready to sail, the Christians returned with the two *Indians* on the fifth of *November*, saying, they had travelled twelve Leagues up the Land, and came to a Town of fifty pretty large Houses, all of Timber, covered with Straw, and made after the Manner of Pavillions, like the others; that they contained about one thousand People, because all that were of one Family liv'd in a House; that the principal Men of the Place came out to meet them, and led them by the Arms to their Town, giving

them one of those great Houses to lodge in, where they made them sit down upon Seats made of one Piece, in strange Shapes, and almost like some Creature that had short Legs, and the Tail lifted up to lean against, which is as broad as the Seat, for the Conveniency of leaning, with a Head before, and the Eyes and Ears of Gold. These Seats they call *Duchi*: Where the Christians being seated, all the *Indians* sat about them on the Ground, and then came one by one to kiss their Hands and Feet, believing they came from Heaven; and they gave them some boiled Roots to eat, not unlike Chestnuts in Taste, earnestly entreating them to stay there among them, or at least to rest themselves five or six Days, because the two *Indians* they took with them, gave those People an excellent Character of the Christians. Soon after many Women coming in to see them, the Men went out; and these, with no less Respect, kissed their Hands and Feet, offering them what they brought. When the Time came to return to their Ships, many *Indians* would go along with them, but they would admit only the King, his Son, and one Servant, whom the Admiral did much Honour to: And these Christians told him, that in their Way out, and Return, they had found several Towns, where they were entertained with the same Courtesy, but that there were not in them above five Houses together; besides, that by the Way they met many People, who always carried a lighted Firebrand, to light Fire, and perfume themselves with certain Herbs they carried along with them, and to roast some of those Roots they gave them, for as much as that was their principal Food. They also saw very many Sorts of Trees and Plants, which were not to be seen about the Sea Coast, and a great Variety of Birds, far differing from our's, but that among them there were Partridges and Nightingales. As for four-footed Creatures, they had seen none but Dogs that did not bark; that there was a great deal of tilled Land, some sow'd with those Roots, a Sort of Beans, and a Sort of Grain they call *Maiz*, which was well tasted baked, or dried and made into Flour. They saw vast Quantities of Cotton, well spun, in Bottoms, insomuch that in one House only they saw

saw above twelve thousand five hundred Pounds of it. The Plants it comes from are not set, but grow naturally about the Fields, like Roses, and open of themselves, when they are ripe, but not all at the same Time; for upon one and the same Plant they had seen a little young Bud, another open, and a third coming ripe. Of these Plants the *Indians* afterwards carried great Quantities aboard the Ships, and gave a Basket full for a Thong of Leather; yet none of them make Use of it to cloath themselves, but only to make Nets for their Beds, which they call *Hamacas*, and in weaving Aprons for Women to cover their Nakedness. Being asked whether they had Gold, Pearls, or Spice, they made Signs, that there was great Plenty towards the East, in a Country they called *Bobio*, which is now called *Hispaniola*; but it is not yet certainly known what Place they meant.

The Admiral having this Account, and resolving to stay no longer in that River, ordered some Natives of that Island to be taken, designing to carry some from all Parts into *Spain*, to give an Account of this Country; and accordingly twelve were seized, Men, Women, and Children, and this so peaceably and without any Disturbance, that when they were ready to sail with them, the Husband of one of the Women, and Father of two Children that had been carried aboard, came to the Ships in a Canoe, desiring he might be taken along with them, and not parted from his Wife and Children, which extremely pleased the Admiral, who ordered he should be received, and they all well used and made much of. The same Day, being the 13th of *November*, he came about to the Eastward, designing for the Island they called *Bobio*. The Wind blowing hard at North, he was forced to come to an Anchor again in the same Island of *Cuba*, among some high Islands, lying near a large Port, which he called *del Principe*, or the Princes Port, and the Sea, our Lady's. These Islands lay so thick and close, that there was not above a Quarter of a League Distance between them at furthest, and but a Musket Shot for the most Part. The Channels were so deep, and so well adorned with Trees and Greens, that it was very delightful sailing among them; and among the Multitude of other Trees, there were

abundance of Mastick, ~~and~~ Aloes and Palm, the Trunk green and smooth, and other Plants of sundry Sorts. And tho' these Islands were not inhabited, yet there appeared the Tokens of many Fires made by Fishermen, for as it afterwards appeared, the People of *Cuba* went together in great Numbers in their Canoes over to these Islands, and abundance more that lies hereabouts uninhabited, and live upon the Fish they catch, upon Birds, Crabs, and other Things they find upon the Earth; for the *Indians* generally eat abundance of filthy Things, such as great Spiders, Worms that breed in rotten Wood, and other corrupt Places, and abundance of Fish almost raw, for as soon as taken before they roast it, they dig out the Eyes to eat, and many other such Things they feed on, which besides that they are nauseous, would kill any of us, should we eat them. They follow this Fishing and Birding according to the Season, sometimes in one Island, sometimes in another, as one that changes his Diet, being weary of the last. But to return to the Islands of our Lady's Sea; in one of them the Christians, with their Swords, killed a Beast like a Badger, and in the Sea found much Mother of Pearl; and casting their Nets, among many other Sorts of Fish they caught, one was like a Swine, all covered with a very hard Skin, no Part whereof was soft but the Tail. They also observed that in this Sea, and the Islands, the Tide swell'd and fell much lower than in other Places, where they had been till then, and their Tides were quite contrary to our's; for it was low Water when the Moon was S. W. and by S.

On Monday the 19th of November, the Admiral departed from the Princes Port in *Cuba*, and the Sea of our Lady, steering Eastward for the Island of *Babio*, or *Hispaniola*, but the Wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three Days between the Island of *Isabella*, which the *Indians* call *Somoto*, and the said Princes Port, which lie almost North and South, about 25 Leagues distant, in which Sea he still found long Traces of those Weeds he had seen in the Ocean, and he perceived they swam along the Current, and never lay athwart it. During this Time *Martin Alonso Pinzon* being informed by certain *Indians* he had concealed aboard

his

his Caraval, that in the Island *Bobio*, which we said was *Hispaniola*, there was great Plenty of Gold; Covetousness blinding him, on *Wednesday* the 21st of *November*, he went away from the Admiral without any stress of Weather, or any other Occasion, for he could have come up to him before the Wind, but would not; and so making as much Way as possibly he could, his Vessel being an excellent Sailer, he made forwards all *Thursday*, whereas they had failed in Sight of one another all the Day before, and Night coming on he quite vanished. Thus the Admiral was left only with two Ships, and the Weather not being fit for his Vessels to sail over to *Hispaniola*, he was forced to return to *Cuba*, to another Port not far from the Prince's, which he called *St. Catherines*, there to take in Wood and Water. In this Port he accidentally saw some Signs of Gold on some Stones in the River where they were watering, and up the Country there were Mountains full of such tall Pine Trees, as would make Masts for the biggest Ships. Nor was there any want of Wood for Planks; to build as many Ships as they would; and among them Oaks and others like those in *Castile*. But perceiving that all the *Indians* directed him to *Hispaniola*, he run along the Coast 10 or 12 Leagues farther towards the South-East, meeting all the Way excellent Harbours, and many large Rivers. The Admiral says so much of the Delightfulness and Beauty of that Country, that I have thought fit here to set down his own Words, speaking of the Mouth of a River, which makes an Harbour by him called *Puerto Saneto*, or Holy Harbour. Thus he says, "When I went with the Boats before me to the Mouth of the Harbour towards the South, I found a River, up whose Mouth a Gally could easily row, and the Way up it was such, that it was not to be discovered but close by; the Beauty of it invited me to go up a Boat's length, where we found from 5 to 8 Fathom Water; and proceeding I went a considerable Way up the River in the Boats; because, as well the Beauty and Delightfulness of the River, and the Clearness of the Water, through which I could see the Sand at the Bottom; as the abundance of Palm Trees of several Sorts, the finest and highest I had yet met with; the

the other infinite Number of large green Trees, the Birds and the Verdure of the Plain, tempted me to fix there for ever. This Country, Most Serene Princes, is so wonderfully fine, and as far exceeds all other Beauty and Delightfulness, as the Day in Brightness exceeds the Night. Therefore I often told my Companions, that though I should ever so much endeavour to give your Highnesses a perfect Account of it, my Tongue and Pen would always fall short of the Truth. And to say the Truth I was astonished to see so much Beauty and know not how to express it. The Admiral going on with his Boats, saw a Canoo among the Trees in the Port, drawn upon Land under a Bower, which Canoo was made of the Body of one Tree, and as big as a twelve Oar Barge, and in some Houses hard by, they found a Ball of Wax, and a Man's Scull in two Baskets hanging at a Post. The same they afterwards found in another House which made our Men judge, they were the Sculls of the Founders of those Houses. No People appeared to receive any Information of, for as soon as ever they saw the Christians, they fled from their Houses to other Parts. Afterwards they found another Canoo about 70 Foot long, that would carry 50 Persons, made like the other we spoke of before.

The Admiral having sailed 106 Leagues Eastward along the Coast of *Cuba*, came to the East Point of it, which he called *Alpha*, and on *Wednesday* the 5th of *December*, struck off to sail over to *Hispaniola*, distant 16 Leagues from *Cuba*, Eastward, and by Reason of some Currents, could not reach it till the next Day, when he put into Port *St. Nicholas*, so call'd by him in Memory of that Saint, whose Festival was that Day. This Port is large, deep, safe, and encompass'd with many tall Trees, but the Country is more Rocky, and the Trees are less, that is, like those of *Castile*; among which there were small Oaks, Mirtle and other Shrubs, and a pleasant River run along a Plain towards the Port, all about which there were large Canoos like 15 Oar Barges. The Admiral not being able to meet with any of those People, run along the Coast Northward till he came to a Port which he called *Conception*, which lies almost due

South

South of a small Island about the bigness of *Gran Canaria*, which was afterwards called *Tortuga*. Perceiving that this Island *Bobio* was very large, and that the Land and Trees were like those of *Spain*; and that at one Draught of a Net they had taken several Fishes like those of *Spain*, as Soles, Salmon, Pilchards, Crabs, and some others, therefore on Sunday the 9th of *December*, they gave it the Name of *Espannola*, or as call'd in *English*, *Hispaniola*. All of them being very desirous to enquire into the Nature of this Island; whilst the Men were Fishing on the Shore, three Christians travelled along the Mountains, and lighted on a Company of *Indians*, as naked as those they had seen before, who seeing the Christians draw near them, in a great Fright, ran into the thickest of the Wood, as having no Cloaths to hinder them. The Christians to get some Information ran after them, but could only overtake a young Woman, who had a Plate of Gold hanging at her Nose. She was carried to the Ships, where the Admiral gave her several Baubles, as Bells and Glass, and then sent her ashore without the least Disgust offered her, ordering three *Indians* of those he brought from the other Islands to go with her, and three Christians, to the Town where she dwelt. The next Day he sent eleven Men ashore well arm'd, who having travelled four Leagues, found a Sort of Town or Village of above 1000 Houses scattered about a Valley, the Inhabitants whereof seeing the Christians, all fled to the Woods. But the *Indian* Guide whom our Men brought from *St. Salvador*, went after them, and said such Things to them of the Christians, affirming they were People come from Heaven, that he persuaded them to turn back quietly and without any Fear. Afterwards full of Astonishment, they would lay their Hands on our Men's Heads by Way of Honour, brought them to eat, and gave them all they desired, without asking any Return, praying them to stay that night in their Village. The Christians would not accept of the Invitation, but returned to their Ships, carrying the News that the Country was very pleasant, abounding in their Provisions; that the People were whiter and handsomer than any they had yet seen in the other Islands, and that they were tractable and courteous,

courteous, and told them the Country were the Gold was found, lay farther Eastward.

The Admiral hearing this Account set sail immediately, though the Wind was contrary; and on *Sunday* following, being the 15th of *December*, as he was plying between *Hispaniola* and *Tortuga*, he found one *Indian* alone in a little Canoe, which they all wondered was not swallowed by the Sea, the Wind and Waves were so high, He took him into the Ship, carried him to *Hispaniola*, and set him ashore with several Gifts. He told the *Indians* how kindly he had been used, and spoke so well of the Christians, that abundance of them came presently aboard; but they brought nothing of Value, except some small Grains of Gold hanging at their Ears and Nostrils: And being ask'd whence they had that Gold, they made Signs there was a great deal, higher up. The next Day there came a great Canoe from the Island *Tortuga*, which was near the Place where the Admiral lay at an Anchor, with forty Men in it, at such Time as the *Cacique*, or Lord of that Part of *Hispaniola*, was upon the Shore, bartering a Plate of Gold he had brought. When he and his Men saw the Canoe, they all set themselves down upon the Ground, as a Sign they would not fight, Immediately almost all those in the Canoe landed, against whom the *Cacique* of *Hispaniola* got up alone, and with threatening Words made them return to their Canoe. Then he threw Water after them, and taking up Stones off the Sand, cast them into the Sea towards the Canoe. But when they were all in a submissive Manner returned to their Canoe, he took up a Stone and delivered it to one of the Admiral's Officers, to throw it at those in the Canoe, to express that he took the Admiral's Part against the *Indians*; but the Officer did not throw, seeing they presently went off in their Canoe. After this, discoursing about the Affairs of that Island, which the Admiral had called *Tortuga*, he affirmed there was more Gold in it than in *Hispaniola*, and that in *Bobio* there was more than in any other, which was about fifteen Days Journey from the Place where they were.

On *Tuesday*, the eighteenth of *December*, the King that came the Day before, where the Canoe of *Tortuga* was, and

who

who lived five Leagues from the Place where the Ships lay, came in the Morning to the Town near the Sea, some of the *Spaniards* at the same Time being there by the Admiral's Order, to see whether they brought any more Gold. These seeing the King come, went to acquaint the Admiral, saying he brought above two hundred Men along with him, and that he came not a Foot, but was carried on a Sort of Palanquine by four Men, with great Respect, though he was very young. The King being at a small Distance from the Ships, having rested a little, drew near with all his Men: Concerning which, the Admiral himself writes thus:

“ There is no doubt but your Highnesses had been very
 “ much pleased to have seen his Gravity, and the Respect
 “ his People paid him; though all naked. When he came
 “ aboard, and understood I was under Deck, being then at
 “ Dinner; he surprized me, sitting down by me, without
 “ giving me Time to go out to receive him, or rise from
 “ Table. When he came down, he made Signs to all his
 “ Followers to stay above, which they did with great Re-
 “ spect, sitting down upon the Deck, except two antient
 “ Men that seemed to be his Counsellors, that sat down at
 “ his Feet. They said this Man was a *Cacique*. I ordered
 “ such Meat as I was eating, to be brought him: They just
 “ tasted of every Thing; and sent the rest to their Men,
 “ who all eat of it. The same they did as to drinking, for
 “ they only kissed the Cup, and gave it about. They were
 “ all wonderful grave, and spoke but few Words, and those
 “ they uttered, by what I could gather, were very delibe-
 “ rate and staid. The two old Men observed the King's
 “ Mouth, and spoke for and to him. After eating, one of
 “ his Gentlemen with great Respect brought him a Girdle,
 “ not unlike those used in *Castile*, though differently
 “ wrought; which he took in his Hand, and gave me,
 “ with two Pieces of wrought Gold very thin. Of which
 “ Gold I believe there is little here, and I guessed that Place
 “ was near to where they took it, which produced very
 “ much. I believing he would like a Carpet or Counter-
 “ pain that lay on my Bed, gave it him, together with
 “ some fine Amber Beads I had about my Neck, with a
 No. 5. E “ Pair

“ Pair of red Shoes, and a Bottle of Orange Flower Wa-
 “ ter, with which he was wonderfully pleased, and both he
 “ and his Counsellors expressed much Concern because
 “ they did not understand me, nor I them, though I made
 “ out, that if I wanted any Thing, all the Island was at my
 “ Command. I presently brought out a Letter Case, in
 “ which I carried a Gold Medal, weighing four Ducats, on
 “ which your Highnesses Effigies are cut, and shewed it
 “ him, saying over again, that your Highnesses were mighty
 “ Princes, and possessed the best Part of the World, and
 “ shewed him the Royal Standard, and the other of the
 “ Cross, which he made great Account of. Therefore,
 “ turning to his Counsellors, he said your Highnesses were
 “ certainly mighty Princes, since you had sent me so far as
 “ from Heaven thither, without any Fear. Much more
 “ passed between us, which I did not understand, but per-
 “ ceived they admired at every Thing they saw; but it
 “ being then late, and he desiring to be gone, I sent him
 “ ashore very honourably in my Boat, and caused several
 “ Guns to be fired; and he being ashore, got into his Pa-
 “ lanquine, attended by above two hundred Men, and a
 “ Son of his was carried on a Man of Note’s Shoulders.
 “ He ordered all the Spaniards that were ashore to have
 “ Meat given them, and to be very courteously used. Af-
 “ terwards a Sailor that met him on the Way told me, that
 “ every one of the Things I had given him, were carried
 “ before him by a Man of great Worth, and that his Son
 “ went not along with him on the Road, but at some Di-
 “ stance behind him, with as many more Attendants as he
 “ had, and a Brother of his on Foot, with near as many
 “ more, two great Men leading him under the Arms, to
 “ whom I had given some small Matters when he came
 “ aboard after his Brother.”

The Admiral continuing the Relation as above, says
 “ That on *Monday* the twenty-fourth of *December*, the
 “ Weather was very calm, without hardly any Wind, but
 “ so much as carried him from *St. Thomas’s Sea* to *Punta*,
 “ *Sancta*, or the *Holy Cape*, off which he lay by about a
 “ League, and about Eleven of the Clock at Night he

“ went

“ went to take his Rest, for he had not slept in two Days
 “ and a Night; and the Weather being calm, the Seaman
 “ that was at the Helm, left it to a Land Man, which (says
 “ the Admiral) I had forbid during the whole Voyage, bid-
 “ ding them whether the Wind blew or not, never to leave
 “ the Helm to a Land Man: And, to say the Truth, I
 “ thought myself safe from Flats and Rocks, for that *Sun-*
 “ *day* I sent my Boats to the King, they went at least three
 “ Leagues and a half beyond the said *Punta Santa*, and
 “ the Seamen had viewed all the Coast, and the Shoals that
 “ lie three Leagues E. S. E. of that Cape, and observed
 “ which Way to sail, which I had not done during the
 “ Voyage; and it pleasing our Lord, that at Midnight, see-
 “ ing me gone to Bed, and we being in a dead Calm, and
 “ the Sea as still as the Water in a Dish, all the Men went
 “ to rest, leaving the Helm to a Land Man. Thus it came
 “ to pass, that the Current easily carried away the Ship upon
 “ one of those Shoals; which, though it was Night, made
 “ such a roaring Noise, that they may be heard and dis-
 “ covered a League off. Then the Fellow who felt the
 “ Rudder strike, and heard the Noise, began to cry out, and
 “ I hearing it, got up immediately, for none had yet per-
 “ ceived that we were a-ground. Presently the Master,
 “ whose Watch it was, came out, and I ordered him and
 “ other Sailors, to take the Boat, and carry out an Anchor
 “ a-stern; whereupon he and others leap’d into the Boat,
 “ and I believing they would have done as I ordered, they
 “ row’d away, flying with the Boat to the other Caraval,
 “ which was half a League off. I then perceiving they
 “ ran away with the Boat, that the Water ebb’d, and the
 “ Ship was in Danger, caused the Masts to be cut down,
 “ and lighted her as much as I could, to see to get her off
 “ but the Water still ebbing, the Caraval could not budge,
 “ but turning athwart the Streams, the Seams opened,
 “ and all below Deck was full of Water. Mean while the
 “ Boat returned from the Caraval to relieve me, for the Men
 “ aboard perceiving the Boat fled, would not receive it,
 “ which obliged it to return to the Ship. No Hopes of
 “ saving the Ship appearing, I went away to the Caraval to

save the Men; and because the Wind blew from the
 Land, and great Part of the Night was spent, and yet
 we knew not which Way to get from among those Flats,
 I lay by with the Caraval till Day appeared, and then I
 drew towards Land within the Shoals, having first sent
James de Arana, the Provost, and *Peter Gutierrez*, your
 Highnesses Secretary, to acquaint the King with what
 had happened, telling him, that as I was going to visit
 him in his own Port, as he had desired the last *Saturday*,
 I had lost my Ship opposite to his Town, a League and a
 half from it, upon a Flat. The King understanding it,
 with Tears in his Eyes expressed much Grief for our
 Loss, and immediately sent aboard all the People in the
 Place, with many large Canoes: So they and we began
 to unload, and in a short Time carried off all that was
 upon Deck. The Assistance this King gave me was
 great; and afterwards he himself, with his Brothers and
 Kindred, took all possible Care both aboard and ashore
 that all Things might be done orderly; and from Time
 to Time he sent some of his Kindred weeping, to beg of
 me not to be dejected, for he would give me all he had.
 I do assure your Highnesses, better Order could not have
 been taken in any Part of *Castile*, to secure our Things,
 for we lost not the Value of a Pin, for he caused all our
 Cloaths to be laid together near his Palace, where he kept
 them till the Houses were voided, which he had appointed
 for us. He placed armed Men to keep them, who stood
 there all Day and all Night, and all the People lamented,
 as if the Loss had concerned them much: so loving,
 tractable, and free from Covetousness they are, that I
 swear to your Highnesses there are no better People, nor
 a better Country in the World. They love their Neigh-
 bour as themselves, and their Conversation is the sweetest
 in the Universe, being pleasant and always smiling.
 True it is, both Men and Women go as naked as they
 were born; yet your Highnesses may believe me, they
 have very commendable Customs, and the King is serv'd
 with great State, and he is so staid, that it is a great Sa-
 tisfaction, to see him, as it is to think what good Me-

“mories these People have, and how desirous they are to know every Thing, which moves them to ask many Questions, and to enquire into the Cause and Effects of every Thing.”

On *Wednesday* the 26th of *December*, the chief King of that Country came aboard the Admiral's Caraval, and expressing much Grief and Sorrow, comforted him and offered all he would have, and saying he had already given the Christians three Houses to lay up all they got out of the Ship, and that he had given them many more, had they stood in Need of them. In the mean while a Canoe came with some *Indians* from another Island, bringing some Plates of Gold to exchange for Bells, which they valued above any Thing. Besides, the Seamen came from the Shore, saying abundance of *Indians* resorted from other Places to the Town who brought several Things in Gold, and gave them for Points, and other Things of small Value, offering to bring much more, if the Christians would. Which the great *Cacique* perceiving, was pleasing to the Admiral, he told him he would cause a great Quantity to be brought from *Cibao*, a Place that yielded much Gold. Being ashore he invited the Admiral to eat *Axis* and *Cazabi*, which is their principal Diet, and gave him some Vizor Masks, with the Eyes, Nose and Ears of Gold, and other pretty Things, which they hung about their Necks. Then complaining of the *Caribbes*, who carried away his Men to make Slaves and eat them, he was much comforted when the Admiral shew'd him our Weapons, saying, he would defend him with them. He was much astonished at our Cannon, which so terrified them, that they fell down as if they were dead, when they heard the Report. The Admiral therefore finding so much Kindness among those People, and such Signs of Gold, almost forgot the Grief conceived for the Loss of his Ship, thinking God had permitted it, that he might fix a Colony there, and leave Christians to trade, and get further Knowledge of the People and Country, learning the Language, and conversing with the Natives, that when he returned from *Spain* with Succours, he might have some Body to direct him in his Affairs, for peopling

peopling and subduing that Country. To this he was the more inclined, because many voluntarily offered themselves to stay and inhabit there. For this Reason he resolved to build a Tower with the Timber of the Ship that was wreck'd, whereof he lost no Part, but made Use of it all. To forward his Design, the next Day being *Thursday* the 27th of *December*, News was brought that the Caraval *Pinta* was in a River towards the East Point of the Island. To be assured of it, the *Cacique*, whose Name was *Guacanagri* sent a Canoe with some *Indians*, who carried a Christian thither: He having gone twenty Leagues along the Coast, returned without any News of it, which was the Reason that no Credit was given to another *Indian*, who said he had seen her some Days before. Nevertheless, the Admiral did not alter his Resolution of leaving some Christians in that Place, who were all still more sensible of the Goodness and Wealth of the Country, the *Indians* bringing Masks and other Things of Gold to give them, and telling them of several Provinces in the Island where it was found. The Admiral being now ready to depart, and discoursing with the King concerning the *Carribbes*, or *Canibals*, of whom they complained, and were in great Dread, therefore to please him with leaving some Christians there, and at the same Time make him afraid of our Arms, he caused a Gun to be fired against the Side of the Ship, which shot quite through it, and the Bullet fell into the Water, which not a little terrify'd the *Cacique*: Besides, he shew'd him all our other Weapons; and how they offended with them, and defended themselves telling him, that since such Weapons were left to defend him, he need not to fear the *Caribbes*, for the Christians would destroy them all, and he would leave them for his Guard, and return himself to *Castile* for Jewels and other Things to give him. Then he particularly recommended to him *James de Arana*, Son to *Rodrick de Arana* of *Cordova*, of whom Mention has been made before. To him, and *Peter Gutierres*, and *Roderick de Eskovedo*, he left the Government of the Fort, and Command of thirty-six Men, with abundance of Commodities, Provision, Arms and Cannon, and the Boat that belonged to the Ship, with Car-

penters,

penters, Caulkers, and other Necessaries for settling there, also a Surgeon, Gunner, and such like Persons. This done, he prepared with all possible Speed to return directly to *Castile*, without making any more Discoveries, fearing, since he had but one Ship left, lest some other Misfortune might befall him, which might hinder their Catholick Majesties coming to the Knowledge of those Kingdoms he had newly acquired for them.

On *Friday* the 4th of *January*, at Sun-rising, the Admiral set sail, with the Boats a-head, standing North-West, to get out of shoal Water that was about the Port where he left the Christians, by him called the Port of the *Nativity*, because on *Chrismas* Day he had landed, escaping the Danger of the Sea, and began to build that Colony.

Having sailed East of *Monte Christo*, with contrary Winds, on *Sunday* the 6th of *January*, in the Morning, a Sailor from the round Top discovered the Caraval *Pinta* that was sailing Westward, right before the Wind. As soon as it came up with the Admiral, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, the Captain, coming aboard the Admiral's Caraval, began to shew some Reasons, and give Excuses for his leaving of him, saying it had happened against his Will. The Admiral, though he very well knew the contrary, and was satisfied of the Man's evil Inclinations, remembering his bold Manner of proceeding before in the Voyage, yet connived at him, and bore with all, for Fear of ruining his Undertaking; which might easily have been done, because most of his Crew were *Martin Alonzo's* Countrymen, and several of them his Relations. And the Truth is, that when he forsook the Admiral, which was at *Cuba*, he went away with a Design to sail to the Island *Bobio*, because the *Indians* aboard his Caraval told him there was abundance of Gold there. When he was there, and found nothing of what had been told him, he was returning towards *Hispaniola*, where other *Indians* had told him there was much Gold: And thus he had spent twenty Days in sailing not above fifteen Leagues East of the *Nativity*, to a River which the Admiral called *Grace*; and there *Martin Alonzo* had lain sixteen Days, and had got Gold enough, as the Admiral had done

done at the *Nativity*, giving Things of small Value for it. Of this Gold he distributed one half among his Crew, to gain and please them, that he as Captain might keep the rest, and afterwards he would persuade the Admiral that he knew nothing of all this. He now following on his Way to come to an Anchor at *Monte Christo*, the Weather not permitting him to proceed further, he went in his Boat up a River, South-West of the Mount, where in the Sand he discovered Signs of Gold Dust, and therefore called it the *River of Gold*. This River lies seventeen Leagues East of the *Nativity*.

On *Sunday*, the 13th of *January*, being near the Cape called *Enamorado*, or the *Lover's Cape*, the Admiral sent the Boat ashore, where our Men found some *Indians* with fierce Countenances on the Shore, with Bows and Arrows, who seemed to be ready to engage, but at the same Time were in a Consternation; however, having some Conference with them, they bought two of their Bows and some Arrows, and with much Difficulty prevailed to have one of them go aboard the Admiral. Their Speech was suitable to their Fierceness, which appeared greater than any People they had yet met with, for their Faces were all daubed over with Charcoal, it being the Custom of all those People to paint themselves, some black, some red, and some white, some one Way and some another; their Hair was very long, and hung in a Bag made of Parrots Feathers. One of them standing before the Admiral, as naked as he was born, (as all the others there, till then discovered, were,) he said in a lofty Tone, they all went so in those Parts. The Admiral thinking this was one of the *Caribees*, and that the Bay parted them from *Hispaniola*, he asked of him where the *Caribees* dwelt; who pointed with his Finger, in another Island Eastward, and that there were Pieces of *Guanin*, as big as half the Stern of the Caraval, and that the Island *Mantinino* was all inhabited by Women, with whom the *Caribees* went and lay at a certain Time of the Year, and if afterwards they brought forth Sons, they gave them to the Fathers to carry away. Having answered to all the Questions put to them, partly by Signs, and partly by that little the *Indians*

of *St. Salvador* could understand of their Language, the Admiral gave them something to eat, and some Baubles, as Glais Beads, and green and red Cloth ; which done, he sent them ashore, that they should cause Gold to be brought if the others had any. The Boat being ashore, they found on the Shore among the Trees fifty-five of them, all naked, with long Hair, as the Women in *Spain* wear it, and behind on the Crown of the Head, they had Plumes of Parrot's or other Bird's Feathers, and all of them armed with Bows and Arrows. When our Men landed, the *Indian* that had been aboard, made the others lay down their Bows and Arrows, and a great Cudgel they carry instead of a Sword ; for, as has been said, they have no Iron at all. When they came to the Boat, the Christians stepped ashore, and having begun to trade for Bows and Arrows by Order of the Admiral, the *Indians* who had already sold two, not only refused to sell any more, but with Scorn made as if they would seize the Christians, and ran to their Bows and Arrows where they had left them, taking up with them Ropes to bind our Men ; They being upon their Guard, and seeing them come in that Fury, though they were but seven, fell courageously upon them, and cut one with a Sword on the Buttock, and shot another with an Arrow in the Breast. The *Indians*, astonished at the Resolution of our Men, and the Wounds our Weapons made, fled, most of them leaving their Bows and Arrows ; and many of them had been killed, had not the Pilot of the Caraval, who commanded the Boat, protected them. The Admiral was not at all displeased at this Skirmish, imagining these were the *Caribbes* all the other *Indians* so much dreaded, or that at least they bordered on them, they being a bold and resolute People, as appeared by their Aspects, Arms and Actions, and he hoped the Islanders hearing how seven Christians had behaved themselves against fifty-five fierce *Indians* of that Country, they would the more respect and honour our Men that were left behind at the *Nativity*, and would not dare to offend them. Afterwards, about Evening, they made a Smoke at Land, to show their Courage ; wherefore the Boat went again to see what they would have, but they could never be brought to

No. 6. F venture

venture themselves, and so the Boat returned. The Bows were of Yew, almost as big as those in *France* and *England*; the Arrows of small Twigs growing out of the Ends of the Canes, which are massive and very straight, about the Length of a Man's Arm and a half; the Head is made of a small Stick hardened at the Fire, about a Quarter of a Yard and half long, at the End whereof they fix a Fish's Tooth, or Bone, and poison it: For this Reason the Admiral gave that Gulph the Name of *Golpho de Flechas*, that is, *Gulph of Arrows*; whereas the *Indians* called it *Samana*. There appeared a great deal of fine Cotton and *Axi*, which is the Pepper they use, and is very hot, some of it long, and some round.

On the 14th of *February*, there arose so terrible a Storm, that the Caraval *Pinta* was separated from the Admiral, and the Admiral's Ship was in the greatest Danger of being lost. How great his Distress was, and yet what Presence of Mind he had in the Midst of it, to make the King of *Spain* acquainted with the Discoveries he had made, whatever might befall himself, may be gathered from what he wrote down in his Journal at the Time; which was as follows:

" I had been less concerned for the Tempest, had I alone
 " been in Danger, for I know I owe my Life to the Su-
 " preme Creator, and because I have been at other Times
 " so near Death, that only the least Part was wanting to
 " compleat it: But what infinitely grieved and troubled
 " me, was the Consideration, that as it had pleased our Lord
 " to give me Faith and Assurance to go upon this Under-
 " taking, wherein I had now been successful, so now (that
 " those who opposed it were to be convinced, and your
 " Highnesses served by me with Honour and Increase of
 " your mighty State) his Divine Majesty should please to
 " obstruct all this by my Death; which had yet been more
 " tolerable, had it not been attended with the Loss of all
 " those Men I had carried with me, upon Promise of hap-
 " py Success. They seeing themselves in that Affliction,
 " did not only curse their setting out, but the Fear and
 " Awe my Persuasions infused into them, to dissuade their
 " Return when outward bound, as they had several Times
 " resolved

“ resolved to do: But above all my Sorrow was double,
“ when I remembered two Sons I had left at School at *Cordo-*
“ *va*, destitute of Friends, in a strange Country, before I had
“ done, or at least could be known to have done, any Ser-
“ vice, which might be believed to incline your Highnesses
“ to remember them. And though on the one Side I com-
“ forted myself with the Faith that our Lord would not
“ permit a Thing which was so much for the Exaltation of
“ his Church, to be left imperfect, when I had with so
“ much Opposition and Trouble almost brought it to Per-
“ fection, yet, on the other Side, I considered it was his
“ Will, that because of my Demerits he would not permit
“ me to obtain such Honour in this World, but snatch’d it
“ from me. Being in this inward Confusion, I remember’d
“ your Highnesses good Fortune; which, though I were
“ dead, and the Ship lost, might find some Means that a
“ Conquest so near atchieved should not be lost, and that it
“ was possible the Success of my Voyage should by some
“ Means or other come to your Knowledge. For this
“ Reason, as briefly as the Time would permit, I writ upon
“ Parchment, that I had discovered those Lands I had pro-
“ mised, as also in how many Days, and what Way I had
“ done it, the Goodness of those Lands, the Nature of the
“ Inhabitants and how your Highnesses Subjects were left
“ in Possession of all I had discovered; which Writing
“ folded and sealed, I superscribed to your Highnesses,
“ promising in Writing upon it a thousand Ducats to him
“ that should deliver it sealed to you; to the End, that if
“ any Foreigners found it, the promised Reward might
“ prevail with them not to give that Intelligence to another.
“ Then I caused a great Cask to be brought to me, and ha-
“ ving wrapped the Writing in oyl’d Cloath, and then put it
“ into a Cake of Wax, I dropped it into the Cask, and ha-
“ ving stopp’d the Bung cloie, cast it into the Sea, all the
“ Men fancying it was some Act of Devotion: And ap-
“ prehending that might perhaps never be taken up, and
“ the Ship still sailing nearer to *Spain*, I made another
“ Packet like the first, and placed it at the Top of the
F 2 “ Poop,

“ Poop, to the End that when the Ship sunk, the Cask
 “ might take his Chance, remaining still above Water.

But after two Days sailing in such extream Danger, he reached one of the *Azores* Islands belonging to the *Portuguese*, where he came to an Anchor; but the Inhabitants of it endeavouring to seize his Ship, he set sail again from thence on the 24 of *February*, and on the 3d of *March* met with another violent Tempest, which split all their Sails, so that they were forced to run on with bare Masts through a mighty Sea, high Winds, and frightful Thunder: But on the next Day they found themselves off the Rock of *Lisbon*, and the Admiral, though unwilling, was forced to put in there, being so much shattered with the Storm, and accordingly came to an Anchor in the River of *Lisbon* on the 4th of *March*. Here great Numbers of *Portuguese* came aboard his Ship to see the *Indians*, and make Enquiries about his Voyage; some of them rejoicing for the Discovery of a new World, and others murmuring that they had lost that Discovery through the King's Incredulity. The Day following the King of *Portugal* sent the Admiral all Sorts of Refreshments, and at the same Time wrote to the Admiral, congratulating his happy Arrival, and desiring he would come to see him: The Admiral was doubtful what to do in this Case, but at last consented to go to *Valparaíso*, nine Leagues from *Lisbon*, where the King then was.

Here the King ordered all the Nobility of his Court to go out to meet him, and being come into his Presence, did him great Honour, commanding him to put on his Cap and sit down, and having, with a chearful Countenance, heard the Particulars of his prosperous Voyage, offered him all he stood in need of, for the Service of their Catholick Majesties, tho' he thought, that for as much as he had been a Captain in *Portugal*, that Conquest belong'd to him. To which the Admiral answered, that he knew of no such Agreement, and that he had strictly observed his Orders, which were not to go the Mines of *Portugal* nor to *Guinea*. The King said, all was well, and he doubted not but Justice would be done. Having spent a long Time in this sort of Discourse, the King command the Prior of *Crato*,
 the

the greatest Man then about him, to entertain the Admiral, and shew him all Civility and Respect, which was done accordingly.

On *Wednesday* the 13th of *March*, two Hours after Day, the Admiral set sail for *Seville*, and on Friday following at Noon, arrived at *Saltes*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Palos*, whence he had set out on the 3d of *August* the foregoing Year, 1492, seven Months and eleven Days before his Return. He was there received by all the People in Procession, giving Thanks to God for his prosperous Success, which, it was hoped, would redound so much to the Propagation of Christianity, and Increase of their Catholick Majesties Dominions; all the Inabitants of that Place looking upon it as a great Matter that the Admiral set out from hence, and that most of the Men he had with him belonged to it, though many of them, through *Pinzon's* Fault, had been mutinous and disobedient. It happened that when the Admiral came to *Palos*, *Pinzon* was arrived at *Galicia*, and designed to go by himself to *Barcelona*, to carry the News to their Catholick Majesties, who sent him Orders not to go thither without the Admiral, with whom he had been sent to discover: At which he was so concerned and offended, that he returned indisposed to his Native Country; where, within a few Days, he died for Grief: But before he got to *Palos*, the Admiral set out for *Seville*, designing to go thence for *Barcelona*, where their Catholick Majesties were; and he was forced to stay a little by the Way, though but never so little, to the so great Admiration of the People wheresoever he went, that they ran from all the neighbouring Towns, down to the Roads to see him, the *Indians*, and other Things he brought. Thus holding on his Way he got to *Barcelona* about the middle of *April*, having before sent their Highnesses an Account of the happy Success of his Voyage, which was extraordinary pleasing to them, and they ordered him a most solemn Reception, as to a Man that had done them such singular Service. All the Court and City went out to meet him; and their Catholick Majesties sat in Publick, with great State, on rich Chairs, under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold; and when he

he went to kiss their Hands, they stood up to him as to a great Lord, made a Difficulty to give him their Hands, and caused him to sit down. Having given a brief Account of his Voyage, thy gave him Leave to retire to his Apartment, whither he was attended by all the Court ; and he was so highly honoured and favoured by their Highnesses, that when the King rode about *Barcelona*, the Admiral was on one Side of him, and the *Infante Fortuna* on the other ; whereas before, none went by his Majesty but the said *Infante*, who was his near Kinsman.

Orders were given at *Barcelona*, with great Care and Expedition, for the Admiral's Return to *Hispaniola*, as well to relieve those that were left there, as to enlarge the Colony and subdue the Island, with the rest that were and should be discovered. To make their Title to them the stronger, their Catholick Majesties, by the Advice of the Admiral, procured the Pope's Approbation and Consent, for the Conquest of the said *Indies*, which Pope *Alexander* the sixth, who then governed the Church, readily granted ; not only for what was already, but for all that should be discovered Westward, till it should come to the East, where any Christian Prince was then actually in Possession, forbidding all Persons in general to intrude within those Bounds. The same his Holiness confirmed the next Year, in very significant Terms : And their Catholick Majesties being sensible that the Admiral had been the Cause of all this Favour granted by the Pope, and that his Discovery had entitled them to the Possession of all those Parts, they were pleased he should be immediately gratified at *Barcelona*, on the 28th of *May*, and therefore granted him a new Privilege, or rather an Exposition and Explanation of what he had before, confirming to him all they had granted before, and in plain Terms declared how far the Bounds of his Admiralship and Vice-Royship extended, being over all that which his Holiness had granted them, thus ratifying what they had given him before.

All Things necessary for the peopling those Countries being provided, the Admiral departed from *Barcelona* for *Seville* in *June*, and being come thither, so diligently solicited

the fitting out of the Fleet their Catholick Majesties had ordered him to provide, that in a short Time seventeen Ships, between great and small, were made ready, well stored with Provisions, and with all Things thought necessary for peopling of those Countries, as Handicrafts of all Sorts, Labourers, Countrymen to till the Land : Besides, the Fame of Gold and other Rarities in those Countries, had drawn together so many Gentlemen and other Persons of Worth, that it was necessary to lessen the Number, and not to allow so many to go abroad, at least till it appeared in some Measure how Things would succeed in those Parts, and till Things were a little settled : Yet was it impossible so much to confine the Number of People that went abroad, but that it amounted to fifteen hundred of all Sorts ; among whom some carried Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which were afterwards of great Use and Advantage to the Planters in those Countries. Being thus furnished, the Admiral weighed Anchor in the Road of *Cadiz*, where the Fleet had been fitted, on *Wednesday* the 25th of *September*, 1493, an Hour before Sun-rising, and stood South-West for the *Canary* Islands, designing there to take in some necessary Refreshments.

On *Monday* the 7th of *October*, the Admiral continued his Voyage towards the *Indies*, having first delivered a Commission shut up and sealed, to every Ship, commanding them not to open it, unless they were separated from him by Strefs of Weather ; for he in those Letters giving an Account of the Course they were to steer, to come to the Town of the *Nativity* in *Hispaniola*, would not have that Course known to any without great Need. Thus sailing with a fair Gale till *Thursday* the 24th of *October*, when being four hundred Leagues West of *Gomera*, he yet met with none of the Weeds he had seen the first Voyage, when he was out but two hundred fifty Leagues, to the great Astonishment of them all : That Day and the next a Swallow flew about the Fleet. On *Saturday* at Night, the Body of *St. Elmo* was seen, with seven lighted Candles on the Round-Top, and there followed mighty Rains, and frightful Thunder ; that is, the Lights were seen, which the Seamen

Seamen affirm to be the Body of St. *Elmo*, and they sung Litanies and Prayers to him, looking upon it as most certain, that in those Storms where he appears there can be no Danger.

On *Saturday* the 2d of *November*, at Night, the Admiral perceiving a great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking Notice of the mighty Rains, he concluded for certain that he was near some Land, and for this Reason caus'd most of the Sails to be furled, and ordered all to be upon the Watch; nor without Cause, for that same Night, as Day began to break, they spy'd Land seven Leagues to the Westward, which was a high mountainous Island, and he called it *Dominica*, because discovered upon *Sunday* Morning. A while after he saw another Island North-East of *Dominica*, and then another, and another after that, more Northward: For the Mercy God had been pleased to bestow on them, all the Men assembling in the Poop, sung the *Salve Regina*, and other Prayers and Hymns very devoutly, giving Thanks to God for that in twenty Days, after departing from *Gomera*, they had made that Land, judging the Distance between them to be between 750 and 800 Leagues. And finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the East Side of the Island *Dominica*, they stood over to another Island which the Admiral called *Marigalante*, that being his Ship's Name. Here landing, he with all necessary Solemnity again confirmed the Possession he had in his first Voyage taken of all the Islands and Continent of the *West-Indies* for their Catholick Majesties.

On *Monday* the 4th of *November*, the Admiral sailed from the Island *Marigalante* Northwards, by another great Island, which he called St. *Mary of Guadalupe*, for his own Devotion, and at the Request of the Friars of the House of that Name, to whom he had made a Promise to call some Island by the Name of their Monastery. Before he came to it, at two Leagues Distance, they discovered a very high Rock, ending in a Point, whence gushed out a Stream of Water as thick as a large Barrel; which falling, made such a Noise, that it was heard aboard the Ships, though many affirmed it was only a white Vein in the Rock, and that

that the Water was so white and frothy by Reason of its steep Fall. Going ashore in the Boat to view a Sort of Town they saw from the Shore, they found no Body there, the People being fled to the Woods, except some Children, to whose Arms they ty'd some Baubles, to allure their Fathers when they returned. In the Houses they found Geese like our's, and abundance of Parrots with red, green, blue, and white Feathers, as big as common Cocks: They also found Pompions, and a Sort of Fruit which look'd like our green Pine Apples, but much bigger, and within full of solid Meat, like a Melon, and much sweeter both in Taste and Smell, which grew on long Stalks like Lillies or Aloes, wild about the Fields, and are better than those that are brought up by Art, as afterwards appeared. They also saw other Sorts of Fruits and Herbs differing from our's; Beds and Cotton Nets, that is Hammacks, Bows and Arrows, and other such Things, of which our Men took none, that the *Indians* might be less afraid of the Christians.

The next Day, which was *Tuesday* the 5th of *November*, the Admiral again sent two Boats ashore, to endeavour to take some Body that might give him an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which Way *Hispaniola* lay. Each of the Boats brought back a Youth, who agreed in saying they were not of that Island, but of another called *Borriquen*, now *St. John*, and that the Inhabitants of that Island *Guadalupe* were *Caribbees* or *Canibals*, and had taken them Prisoners from their own Island. Soon after the Boats returning to Shore, to take up some Christians they had left there, found six Women with them, who had fled to them from the *Caribbees*, and came of their own Accord aboard the Ships. The Admiral, to allure the Islanders, would not keep them aboard, but gave them some Glass Beads and Bells, and made them be set ashore against their Wills. This was not done unadvisedly, for as soon as they landed, the *Caribbees* in the Sight of the Christians took away all the Admiral had given them. Therefore, either through the Hatred they bore the *Caribbees*, or for the Fear they had conceived of those People, a while after, when the Boats returned for Wood and Water, the said Wo-

men got into them, begging of the Seamen to carry them aboard the Ships, and giving them to understand by Signs, that those People did eat Men, and make Slaves of them, and therefore they would not stay with them ; so that the Men yielding to their Intreaties, carried them back to the Ships, with two Children and a young Man that had made his Escape from the *Caribbees*, thinking it safer to put themselves into the Hands of People they never saw, and such Strangers to their Nation, than to remain among those they knew to be wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their Husbands and Children ; but they said they did not kill and eat the Women, but kept them as Slaves. One of the Women told them, that towards the South there were many Islands, some inhabited, others not, which both she and the other Women severally called *Giamachi*, *Cairvaco*, *Huino*, *Buriari*, *Arubeira*, *Sixibei*. But the Continent which they said was very great, both they and the People of *Hispaniola* called *Zuanta*, because in former Times Canoes had come from that Land, to barter with abundance of Lads, of whom they said there were two thirds in an Island not far distant ; and they also said, that a King of that Country whither they fled, was gone with ten great Canoes and three hundred Men, to make Incurfions into the neighbouring Islands, and take People to eat.

The Admiral sent Captain *Hojeda*, with forty Men, to pry into the Nature of the Country, where he found Mastic, Aloes, Sandal, Ginger, Frankincense, and some Trees in Taste and Smell like Cinnamon, abundance of Cotton, and many Falcons, and saw two of them pursuing the other Birds ; they also saw Kites, Herons, Daws, Turtles, Partridges, Geese, and Nightingales.

In the Houses they found a great deal of Cotton spun and unspun, Looms to weave, abundance of Men's Skulls hung up, and Baskets full of Men's Bones. These Houses they saw, were the best, and more plentifully stored with Provisions, and other Things necessary for the Use of the *Indians*, than any others the Admiral saw in the Islands at his first Voyage.

On

On Sunday the 10th of November, the Admiral weighed Anchor, and sailed with the whole Fleet along the Coast of the Island *Guadalupe*, towards the North-West, for *Hispaniola*, and came to the Island *Monferrate*, calling it by that Name, because of its Height, and understood by the *Indians* he had with him, that the *Caribbees* had unpeopled it, devouring the Inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to *St. Mary Redonda*, so called because it is so round and upright, that there seems to be no getting into it without Ladders, which the *Indians* called *Ocamaniro*. Next he came to *St. Maria la Antigua*, which is above twenty-eight Leagues in Extent. Still holding on his Course North-West, there appeared several other Islands towards the North, and lying North-West and South-East, all very high and full of Woods, in one of which they cast Anchor, and called it *St. Martin*, where they took up Pieces of Coral, sticking to the Anchor Flocks.

On Friday the 12th of November, the Admiral came up with the North Side of *Hispaniola*, and presently sent ashore at *Samana* one of the *Indians* born in that Part, whom he brought out of *Spain*, being then converted to our Holy Faith, who offered to reduce all the *Indians* to submit to the Christians. The Admiral continuing his Voyage towards the Town of *Natal*, or the *Nativity*, when he came to Cape *Angel*, some *Indians* went aboard to barter their Commodities with the Christians. Coming to an Anchor in the Port of *Monte Christo*, a Boat that went ashore found near a River two dead Men; one of them seemed to be young, the other old, who had a Rope made of a certain Sort of Broom or such like Furze that grows in *Spain*, called *Esparto*, about his Neck, his Arms extended, and his Hands tied to a Piece of Wood, in the Form of a Cross; but they could not discern whether they were Christians or *Indians*, but looked upon it as an ill Omen. The next Day, being the 26th of November, the Admiral sent ashore in several Places: The *Indians* came very friendly and boldly to talk with the Christians, and touching our Men's Shirts and Doublets, said Shirt, Doublet in *Spanish*, to show they knew how those Things were called, which delivered the Admiral

The first Discovery of

from the Jealousy he had conceived, on Account of the dead Men, judging that if those People had wronged the Christians left there, they had not come so boldly about the Ships.

On *Thursday* the 28th of *November*, about Evening, the Admiral, with all his Fleet, came into the Port before the Town of *Navidad* or the *Nativity*, found it all burnt, and that Day no Body was seen all about there. Next Day, in the Morning, the Admiral landed very much concerned to see the Houses and Fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians, but only ragged Cloaths and such like Things, as is usual in a Place plundered and destroyed; and seeing no Body to enquire of, the Admiral went with some Boats up a River that was hard by. Whilst he was going up it, he ordered the Well he had made in the Fort to be cleansed, thinking to find Gold in it, because at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded those he left behind to throw all the Gold they could get into that Well; but nothing was found in it, and the Admiral, that Way he went up with his Boats, could lay hold of no *Indians*, because they all fled from their Houses to the Woods. Having therefore found nothing but some of the Christians Cloaths, he returned to *Navidad*, where he saw eight of the Christians, and three others, in the Fields near the Town, whom they knew to be Christians by their Cloaths, and they seemed to have been dead about a Month. The Christians going about to seek some other Tokens, or Writings of the Dead, a Brother of the Cacique *Guacanagari* came with some *Indians* to talk with the Admiral. These could speak some Words of *Spanish*, and knew the Names of all the Christians that had been left there, and said that those *Spaniards* soon began to fall at Variance among themselves, and to take every one what Gold and as many Women as they could; whereupon *Peter Gutierrez* and *Escovedo* killed one *James*, and then they and nine others went away with their Women to a Cacique, whose Name was *Caunabo*, who was Lord of the Mines, and killed them all; then many Days after came with a great many Men to *Navidad*, where there was only *James de Arana*, with ten Men, who had

had remained with him to guard the Fort, all the rest being dispersed about the Island. The Cacique *Caunabo* coming up by Night, fired the Houses where the Christians lived, with their Women, for fear whereof they fled to the Sea, where eight of them were drowned, and three died ashore, whom they shew'd; that *Guacanagari* himself, fighting with *Caunabo* in Defence of the Christians, was wounded and fled.

This Account agreed with that given by other Christians, sent by the Admiral to learn more of the Country, who went to a Town where *Guacanagari* lay ill of a Wound, which he said had hindered him from waiting on the Admiral, and giving him an Account of what was become of the Christians, among whom he said, soon after the Admiral returned for *Spain*, there began to be Dissension, and every one would barter Gold for himself, and take what Women he thought fit; and not satisfied with what *Guacanagari* gave and allowed to be given them, they divided into several Parcels, and dispersed some one Way and some another, and that some *Biscainers* joining together, went where they were all killed: And this was the Truth of what had happened, which they might tell the Admiral, desiring him by those same Christians, that he would come and see him, because he was in such a Condition that he could not leave his House. The Admiral did so, going the next Day to visit him, and he with great Signs of Sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above, and that he and his Men had been all wounded in Defence of the Christians, as appeared by their Wounds, which were not given by Christian Arms, but with *Aragayas*, or wooden Swords, and Arrows pointed with Fish Bones. The Discourse being over, he presented the Admiral with eight Strings of small Beads, made of white, green and red Stones, a String of Gold Beads, and a Regal Crown of Gold, and three little Calabashes full of Gold Sand, all which might be about four Marks Weight in Gold, each Mark being half a Pound. The Admiral, in Return, gave him abundance of our Baubles, which might be worth three Royals, or Eighteenpence, and were valued by him at above a thousand. Tho' he

he was very ill, he would needs go with the Admiral to see the Fleet, where he was courteously entertained, and much pleased to see the Horses, of which the Christians had before given him an Account.

The Admiral having observed other Parts of the Island more convenient for building a Town, and the settling a Colony, than that where he built the first Fort, returned with his Fleet further Eastward ; and near a Mountain he had named *Monte Christo*, finding a commodious Harbour near the Mouth of a River, and a Rock that was a good natural Fortification, he laid out the Plan of a Town, to which he gave the Name of *Isabella*, being the Name of the Queen of *Castile*.

He found the Soil so fruitful here, that Melons grew up and were ripe within two Months after the Seed was put into the Ground : They gathered Ears of Wheat in about two Months after it had been sown, and Vetches sprung up above Ground in three Days, and the 25th Day they eat of them. The Stones of Fruit set in the Ground sprouted out in seven Days, and Vine Branches shot out in the same Time, and in twenty-five Days after, they gathered green Grapes : The Sugar Canes budded in seven Days, and yet the Climate was rather cold than hot : The Waters there were likewise very cold, but very fine.

The Admiral having sent a Party of Men to discover the Country of *Ciboa*, from whence most of the Gold was brought, and receiving Advice that it was generally a rocky Country, pretty well replenished with Rivers, in whose Sands were found a pretty deal of Gold Dust, he resolv'd to go in Person, in order to build a Fort there that might command the Natives, having first sent twelve of his Ships back to *Spain*, and so disposed of the rest as to prevent a Mutiny in his Absence : For the Adventurers, having flattered themselves that they should immediately possess Mountains of Gold, when they found there was a great deal of Labour and Fatigue to be undergone, in building Forts and Towns, and making Discoveries, before they must expect to accomplish their Ends, they formed a Conspiracy against the Admiral, and had even laid a Design to run

away

away with the remaining Ships, and return to *Spain*: But *Columbus* having discovered the Plot, and so disposed Things as to prevent a Mutiny for the future, he set out for the Country of *Ciboa*, with a strong Party of Men, and some Horses and Mules.

In his Way thither, the People of the Towns fled to the Mountains, but fortified their Houses, barring their Doors with some Canes, as if that were a great Defence to hinder any Body from coming in; for according to their Custom, no Man dares break in at the Door he finds so barred, for as much as they have no wooden Doors, or other Means to shut themselves in, it seems these Bars are sufficient.

He found the Country rough and stony, full of Gravel, plentiful of Grass, and watered by several Rivers, in which Gold is found. The further they went into this Country, the more uncouth they found it, and encumbered with Mountains, on the Tops whereof there appeared Grains of Gold Sand; for, as the Admiral said, the great Rains carry it down from the Tops of the Mountains to the Rivers in small Sand.

This Province is as big as *Portugal*, and there are in it abundance of Mines, and Gold in the Brooks, but for the most Part there are very few Trees, and those along the Banks of Rivers, and are most of them Pines and Palms of several Sorts.

Here he erected a Fortrefs, to which he gave the Name of *St. Thomas*, in which he left a Garrison of four hundred Men, and upwards, and then returned to his Ships in the Harbour of *Isabella*.

In breaking Ground to lay the Foundation of this Castle of *St. Thomas*, and cutting a Rock to make the Ditches, when they were got two Fathom below the Stone, they found Nests made of Hay and Straw, and instead of Eggs, three or four round Stones, as big as Oranges, as artificially made, as if they had been Cannon Balls; and in the River that runs at the Foot of that Hill the Castle now stands upon, they found Stones of several Colours, some of them large, of pure Marble, and others of Jasper.

In

In this Expedition the Admiral observes that the Natives were under the greatest Consternation when they saw their Horses ; and, though the *Indians* would sometimes venture to engage their Foot, a single Horseman might drive hundreds of them before him, They did not think themselves secure, even when there was a deep River between them and the Horse ; for they imagined the Creature could fly, and they were so afraid of being devoured by them, that they durst not go into any House where a Horse stood.

The Admiral having put the Town of *Isabella* and the Fort of *St. Thomas* in a Posture of Defence, and left a sufficient Body of Troops in the Country, to keep the Natives in Awe, determined to go upon new Discoveries : Whereupon he nominated a Council of his principal Officers to take the Government of the Island upon them in his Absence, in which his Brother, *James Columbus*, was to preside, and then set sail to the Westward with three Ships for *Cuba*, not knowing yet whether it was an Island, or Part of the Continent. In this Voyage he met with several good Harbours and Rivers, and found the Country to be very fruitful. He also discovered the Island of *Jamaica* to the Southward of *Cuba* ; which he commends as a more populous pleasant and fruitful Country, than either *Cuba* or *Hispaniola* ; and relates, that it was inhabited by a warlike People, who attacked his Men with their Bows and Arrows ; but that having wounded six or seven of them with their Cross Bows, they fled, and the next Day came down in a peaceful Manner to traffick with him ; that having staid here some Days, and repaired his Ship, which was leaky, he set sail again for *Cuba*, and in his Way thither met with a great Number of small Islands, some of them scarce above the Surface of the Sea, which made it very dangerous sailing : In one Day they counted one hundred and sixty Islands, all parted by deep Channels, which the Ship sailed through.

In some of these Islands they saw abundance of Cranes, in Shape and Bigness like those of *Europe*, but as red as Scarlet. In others abundance of Tortoises, that lay their Eggs (which are not unlike a Hen's, but the Shells are

very

very hard) in Holes they make in the Sand, and covering them, leave them till the Heat of the Sun hatches the young Tortoises. There were likewise an infinite Number of little Birds that sang sweetly; and the very Air was as sweet as if there had been so many Roses and Perfumes. In one of the Channels that ran between these Islands, they spy'd a Canoe of *Indian* Fishermen, who very quietly, without the least Concern, expected the Boat which was making towards them, and being come near, made a Sign to them in it, till they had done fishing. Their Manner of fishing was so strange and new to our Men, that they were willing to comply with them: It was thus; They had ty'd some small Fishes they call *Reves*, by the Tail, which run themselves against other Fish, and with a certain Roughness they have from the Head to the Middle of the Back, they stick so fast to the next Fish they meet, that when the *Indians* perceive it, drawing their Line they draw them both together; and it was a Tortoise our Men saw so taken by those Fishermen, that Fish clinging about the Neck of it, where they generally fasten, being by that Means safe from the other Fish biting them, and they have seen them fasten upon vast Sharks.

Sailing on in this Manner between these small Islands, they came again to *Cuba*, and one of the Seamen going ashore, found thirty *Indians* armed with Spears and Staves, among whom was one clad with a white Coat, or Vest, down to his Knees, and two that carried him were cloathed in Vests, which reached down to their Feet, and were all white; but the *Indians* perceiving the Sailor, they all ran away with the greatest Speed they could make: There were such Flights of Crows in a Morning, going from the Seaward to the Island, that they darkened the Sun, and a great abundance of Pigeons, and other Sorts of Birds; and one Day there came such Swarms of Butterflies, that they darkened the Air, and lasted till Night, when a great Rain carried them away. Sailing on, they came into a Sea so patched with green and white, that it looked like one entire Sand; but there was two Fathom Water, along which they sailed seven Leagues, till they came into another Sea as white as Milk,

which the Admiral much admired at, as the Water was very thick. This Sea dazzled the Eyes of all that beheld it, and seemed to be all a Shoal, and yet there was about three Fathom Water ; but when they had sailed about four Leagues upon that Sea, they came into another Sea as black as Ink: They often met with great Difficulty in sailing through narrow Channels and Shoals; besides which, they were extremely troubled every Day about Sun-set, with prodigious Showers of Rain, and when they drew nearer to *Cuba*, they were on a sudden assaulted by such a violent Rain and Storm, as bore the Admiral's Ship under Water; but it pleased GOD, they immediately struck all their Sails, and dropped their best Anchors ; but they took in so much Water at the Deck, that the Men were not able to pump it out, especially in the Condition they were in, being much spent for Want of Provisions, as they were reduced to the Allowance of a Pound of rotten Bisket a Day, and about half a Pint of Wine.

The Admiral, in his Journal, speaks thus concerning it :
 “ I myself am at the same Allowance ; GOD grant it may
 “ be to his Honour, and for your Highnesses Service, for I
 “ shall never again, for my own Benefit, expose myself to
 “ such Sufferings and Dangers, never a Day passing but I
 “ see we are upon the Brink of Death.”

In this Distress they arrived at *Cape Cruz*, on the Island of *Cuba*, where they were friendly entertained by the *Indians*, who brought them abundance of their Bread (which they call *Cazabi*, and is made of Roots grated) a great deal of Fish, Store of Fruit, and such other Food as they had.

The Wind being contrary for *Hispaniola*, they stood over again for *Jamaica*, and sailed along Westward, close under the Shore, the Country all along most delightful and fruitful, with excellent Harbours at every League's Distance, and all the Coast full of Towns ; the Inhabitants whereof following the Ships in their Canoes, brought such Provisions as they eat, which was much better liked by the Admiral and his People, than what they found in the other Islands. The Admiral had a great Mind to make some Stay at *Jameica*, to inform himself fully of the Nature of
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the Island ; but the great Want of Ship Provisions, and the Leakiness of the Vessels, would not permit him ; therefore, as soon as the Weather was a little fair, he sailed away Eastward, standing over directly for *Hispaniola*.

In a few Days they made *Hispaniola*, and coasting it along, discovered a delightful Country, so peopled, that it seemed to be one continued Town for a League in Length. Sending the Boats for Water to a Place where a great Town appeared, the *Indians* came out against them with Bows and poisoned Arrows, and with Ropes in their Hands, making Signs that they would bind the Christians : But as soon as the Boats came ashore, the *Indians* laid down their Arms, and offered to bring Bread and Water, and all they had. Going hence, they saw in the Sea a Fish as big as a Whale, which, on its Neck, had a Shell like a Tortoise, and bore its Head, which was as big as a Hoghead, above Water ; its Tail like a Tunny Fish, very long, and two large Fins on the Sides. Soon after this, the Admiral was taken with a dangerous Disease, which deprived him of all his Senses and Memory, so that all the Men aboard resolved to desist from the Design the Admiral had in Hand of discovering all the Islands of the *Caribbees*, and return immediately to *Isabella*, where he lay sick five Months, which was attributed to the great Fatigue he had undergone during the Voyage ; for sometimes he had not slept three Hours in eight Days, which seems almost impossible, had not he declared it himself, and his Men been Witnesses of the Truth of it.

The Admiral had the Pleasure of finding at *Hispaniola* his Brother, *Bartholomew Columbus*, who, as we said before, had been sent to treat with the King of *England* about the Discovery of the *Indies*. He returning to *Spain* with the Grant of his Demands, understood at *Paris*, by *Charles* King of *France*, that the Admiral his Brother had discovered the *Indies*, and he supplied him with one hundred Crowns to proceed on his Journey. Upon this News, he made all the Haste he could to overtake the Admiral in *Spain* ; yet, when he came to *Seville*, his Brother was set out for the *Indies* with seventeen Sail : Therefore, to fulfil the Orders he had left him at the Beginning of the Year

1494, he went away to their Majesties at *Valladolid*. As soon as he came thither, their Majesties sent for him, and sent him away to *Hispaniola* with three Ships.

The Admiral having the Assistance and Advice of his Brother, took some Rest, and lived in Quiet, though on the other Side he met with Trouble enough, as well from his Sickness, as because he found almost all the *Indians* had revolted, through the Fault of *D. Peter Margarite*; to whom the Admiral, at his Departure to make Discoveries, had given the Command of the flying Army that was to keep the Country in Subjection. He aspiring to the sole Command of the Island, refused to obey the Council the Admiral entrusted with the Government, but finding he could not obtain his Ends, left the Country, and transported himself to *Spain*. Whereupon his Troops dispersed themselves, and, committing great Outrages, several of the Caciques of the Island assembled their Forces in their Defence, and cut off a great many of the *Spaniards*; but the Admiral being returned, assembled his scattered Forces, and with the Assistance of the Cacique *Guacanagari*, his faithful Ally, subdu'd all the Country under the Obedience of his Catholick Majesty, though one of the *Indian* Armies that opposed him consisted of an hundred thousand Men; and all the Admiral's Troops, that took the Field, amounted to no more than two hundred Foot, twenty Horse, and twenty great Dogs. But the Admiral dividing his Forces, that he might attack this great Multitude (which were scattered about the Plains) in two Places at once, thinking (as it proved) that the Terror of hearing the Noise in several Places would put them to Flight the sooner, he broke them with the first Discharge of the Cross Bows and Muskets, and the Horse and Dogs falling upon them in a furious Manner, that they might not rally, they fled, some one Way and some another. Great Numbers were killed, and a compleat Victory obtained.

Certain it is, that the Inhabitants of *Hispaniola* were subdued in this second Voyage of *Columbus*, who imposed a Tribute on them; and having taken *Caunabo*, the most powerful

powerful Cacique or Prince of the Island, Prisoner, sent him to *Spain*. This Cacique acknowledged that it was he that destroyed the first *Spanish* Fort, called the *Nativity*, and put to the Sword above twenty of the Garrison the Admiral had left there.

The Tribute the Natives of *Ciboa* (where the Gold was found) agreed to pay the *Spaniards*, was a large Horse Bell full of Gold Dust for every Head above fourteen Years of Age, once a Quarter; and the rest were to pay twenty-five Pounds of Cotton per Head every three Months.

The People of the Island being brought under, and conversing more freely with the Christians, many other Particulars and the Secrets of their Religion were found out, but particularly that there were Mines of Copper, Azure, and Amber; as also Ebony, Cedar, Frankincense, and other rich Gums and Spice of several Sorts, but wild, which being cultivated, might be brought to Perfection; as for Instance, Cinnamon of good Colour, but bitter, Ginger, long Pepper, abundance of Mulberry Trees, for making of Silk, which bear Leaves all the Year, and many other useful Trees and Plants not known in our Parts.

The Admiral could discover neither Idolatry nor any other Sect among them, though every one of their Kings, who are very many, as well in *Hispaniola* as in all the other Islands and Continent, has a House apart from the Town, in which there is nothing at all but some wooden Images carved, by them called *Cemi's*; nor is there any Thing done in those Houses but what is for the Service of those *Cemi's*, they repairing to perform certain Services, and pray there, as we do to our Churches. In these Houses they have a handsome round Table, made like a Dish, on which is some Powder, which they lay on the Head of the *Cemi's*, with a certain Ceremony; then through a Cane that has three Branches, clapped to their Nose, they snuff up this Powder: The Words they say, none of our People understand. This Powder puts them besides themselves, as if they were drunk. They also give the Image a Name, and the Admiral believ'd it was their Father's, or Grandfather's, or both, for they have more than one, and some above ten,
all

all in Memory of their Forefathers, as was said before. The Admiral has heard them commend one above another, and has seen them to have more Devotion, and shew more Respect to one than another, as the *Spaniards* do in Processions, in Time of Need; and the People and Caciques boast among themselves of having the best *Cemi's*. When they go to these their *Cemi's*, they shun the Christians, and will not let them go into those Houses, and if they suspect they will come, they take away their *Cemi's*, and hide them in the Woods, for Fear they should be taken from them; and what is most ridiculous, they used to steal one another's *Cemi's*. It happened once, that the Christians on a sudden rushed into the House with them, and presently the *Cemi* cried out, speaking in their Language, by which it appeared to be artificially made, for it being hollow, they had applied a Trunk to it, which answered to a dark Corner of the House covered with Boughs and Leaves, where a Man was concealed, who spoke what the Cacique ordered him. The *Spaniards* therefore, reflecting on what it might be, kicked down the *Cemi*, and found as has been said; and the Cacique seeing they had discovered his Practice, earnestly begg'd of them not to speak of it to his Subjects, or the other *Indians*, because he kept them in Obedience by that Policy.

When these *Indians* die, they have several Ways of performing their Obsequies, but the Manner of burying their Caciques is thus: They open and dry him at the Fire, that he may keep whole; of others they take only the Head; others they bury in a Grot, or Den, and lay a Calabash of Water and Bread on his Head; others they burn in the House where they die, and when they are at the last Gasps, they suffer them not to die, but strangle them, and this is done to Caciques. Others are turned out of the House, and others put them into a Hamack, which is their Bed, laying Bread and Water by their Head, never returning to see them any more. Some that are dangerously ill, are carried to the Cacique, who tells them whether they are to be strangled or not, and what he says is done. The Admiral says he took Pains to find out what it was they believed, and whether they knew what became of them after they were dead, and
especially

especially he enquired of *Caunabo*, who was the chiefeft King in *Hispaniola*, a Man in Years, Knowing, and of a moft piercing Wit. He and the reft answered, that they go to a certain Vale, which every great Cacique fupposes to be in his Country, where they affirm they find their Parents and all their Predecessors, and that they eat, have Women, and give themselves up to Pleasures and Pastimes.

The Admiral having fettled the Government of the Island, and built three Fortresses, besides that of *Isabella*, to preserve his Conquest, thought fit to return to *Spain*; for he found so many ill Offices had been done him by his Enemies, that the Court of *Spain* neglected to send him any further Reinforcements, to enable him to extend his Discoveries.

The Admiral arriving in *Spain*, attended their Catholick Majesties at *Burgos*, presenting them with several Things he brought as Samples from the *Indies*, as well Birds and Beasts, as Trees, Plants, Instruments, and other Things the *Indians* use for their Service and Devotion; also several Girdles and Masks, with Eyes and Ears of Plates of Gold, besides much Gold Sand, gross and small, as Nature produced it; some Grains as big as Vetches, some as Beans, and some as Pigeons Eggs, which was graciously received, and looked upon as a sure Earnest of the future vast Wealth they received from thence; for in Process of Time, Pieces of Gold were found there, that weighed above 30 Pounds.

The Admiral, after near two Years Attendance at the Court of *Spain*, having at length procured six Ships, set sail on the 30th of *May*, 1498, for *America* again, and in his Way touched at the *Maderas*. He afterwards made the Island of *Ferro*, the most Westerly of the *Canaries*, from whence he detached three of his Ships directly for *Hispaniola*, and with the other three bent his Course towards the Islands of *Cape Verd*: From hence he held on his Course South-West, in Expectation of finding the Continent, till he came into five Degrees North Latitude; but meeting here with Calms, and such excessive hot Weather, that had it not rained sometimes, and the Sun been clouded, he believed they would have been burnt alive together

together with the Ships, he was deterred from sailing any further to the South, and bent his Course to the North-West, till he came into seven Degrees North Latitude, and then he steered due West; which Course having continued some Days, he discovered a large Island on the first of *August*, to which he gave the Name of the *Trinity*, which lies near the Mouth of the River *Orbonoko*, in *South-America*, and in a Day or two after, he made the Continent of *Paria*, or *Guiana*, now called *New-Andalusia*, lying about seven Degrees South of *Barbadoes*.

The Admiral going on Shore on the 5th of *August*, bartered away some Trifles with the Natives of *Paria*, and observed they were rather whiter than those of *Hispaniola*; that the Men wore their Hair long, and had little Aprons and Caps of Cotton Linnen; that the Women wore little Gold Plates and Chains of Pearl about their Necks, but had no Aprons or Covering for their Nudities; and that they were generally a harmless inoffensive People, not *Cannibals*, as some represent them. Enquiring of them where they got the Pearls, they made Signs to shew it was in the Oyster Shells, which were taken Westward of the Land of *Paria*, and beyond it towards the North.

The Admiral having spent about a Fortnight upon the Coast of *Paria*, in getting what Intelligence he could of that Continent, set sail directly for *Hispaniola*, and arrived at *St. Domingo*, a Town that his Brother (and Lieutenant) had built on the South Side of the Island, and so named in Memory of their Father *Dominic*, on the 30th of *August*, 1498. The continual Labour and Watchings the Admiral had endured in attempting to discover the Continent, made the Sight of *Hispaniola* very acceptable to him, where he hoped to have enjoyed some Ease and Satisfaction, after numberless Hazards and Fatigues; but, to his great Mortification, he found the Island in the utmost Distraction; for he here found those he had left were at Variance amongst themselves; at the Head of which Mutiny, was one *Francis Roldan*, who had been left there as Chief Justice by the Admiral, but during his Absence had endeavoured to expel his Brother from the Island. Having with much
Difficulty

Difficulty reconciled these Differences, he applied himself to the digging of the Gold Mines, and found such a Plenty of that Metal, that one Man frequently got five Marks of Gold in a Day's Time ; but he was soon interrupted from this, by fresh Insurrections among his People : And though by his excellent Conduct he found Means to maintain his Authority in the Island, and distress his Enemies there, yet they appeared to be too hard for him in the Court of *Spain*, by the malicious Stories they transmitted thither ; so that the King sent over a *Spanish* Knight, named *Bovadilla*, to *Hispaniola*, giving him even Power to apprehend the Admiral, and send him to *Spain*, if he thought fit ; sending at the same Time a Letter to the Admiral himself, commanding him to obey this new Governor. *Columbus* accordingly, on his Arrival, submitted to him, though he was in a Condition to have defended himself.

The *Spanish* Knight made the most of his Commission ; he immediately took Possession of the Admiral's Palaces, and all his Effects, and clapping him and his Brother in Irons, sent them both Prisoners to *Spain* : The Captain of the Ship, indeed, ashamed to see this great Man in Fetters, offered to knock off his Irons ; which the Admiral would not permit, saying, that since their Catholick Majesties by their Letter directed him to perform whatever the new Governor did in their Name command him to do, (in Virtue of which Authority and Commission he had put him in Irons,) he would have none but their Highnesses themselves to do their Pleasure themselves, and he was resolved to keep those Fetters as Relicks, and a Memorial of the Reward of his many Services ; and accordingly he did, for he always kept them in his Room, and ordered them to be buried with his Body.

However, their Catholick Majesties no sooner heard of the Admiral's Arrival, but they sent Orders to release him, and invite him to Court, assuring him that *Bovadilla* had exceeded his Commission, and that his Estate should be restored, and he should be continued in the Command of all he had discovered in the New World ; for it evidently appeared that the Complaints that had been brought against

him, proceeded either from Self-Interest, or Malice : But notwithstanding the Admiral was innocent, and had the Titles of Admiral and Viceroy of the *Indies* continued to him, he appears to have been actually deprived of his Government of *Hispaniola*, and another was sent thither in his Room, that would be more acceptable to the *Spaniards*, as well as the *Indians*, as was supposed, and bring more Treasure into their Majesties Coffers ; which the Admiral so much resented, that he had determined to retire, and lead a private Life, without attempting any further Discoveries ; for he reflected, that if what he had done for the *Spanish* Nation could not induce them to use him well, nothing that he could do hereafter would. But the King, either considering what Dishonour the laying the Admiral aside might reflect upon him, or imagining he might make yet more profitable Discoveries, persuaded *Columbus* to put to Sea again, vested with the like Powers he had conferred on him in his former Voyages.

Accordingly the Admiral set Sail from *Cadiz* with four Ships, from 50 to 70 Ton, and 140 Men, on the 9th of *May*, 1502 ; and, touching at the *Canaries* on the 20th of the same Month, where he took in Wood and Water, he sailed from thence the 24th, and arrived at *Martinico*, one of the *Caribbee* Islands, the 15th of *June*, and the latter End of the same Month came before *St. Domingo*, in *Hispaniola* : But the Admiral was not suffered to enter that Port, though most of his Estate and Effects lay thereabouts, and he had represented to the *Spanish* Governor, that one of his Ships was much damaged, and he apprehended a Storm. From whence, 'tis too plain, that the Court of *Spain* had given Orders that he should never more reside in *Hispaniola*, which he had conquered for them. The Admiral, however, had the good Fortune to get into a little Creek in the Island, where he weathered a very terrible Storm ; in which *Bovadilla*, his great Enemy, and fourteen Ships laden with Treasure, and bound for *Spain*, perished.

The Admiral, after the Storm was over, left the Coast of *Hispaniola*, and sailing to the Westward, passed by the South Side of the Island of *Jamaica* ; from whence continuing

ning his Course, he arrived at the Island of *Guayana*, in the Gulph of *Honduras*, where he met with a Canoe as long as a Galley, and eight Foot wide, made of one Tree; which being laden with such Merchandize as the neighbouring Continent afforded, and having twenty-five Men, and several Women and Children on board, bound for the Coast of *Mexico*, he made them Prisoners: He found on board the Canoe several large Pieces of Cotton Linnen, Quilts, and quilted Waistcoats, without Sleeves, finely wrought, and dy'd of several Colours. The Women on board the Canoe, wrapped themselves up in Pieces of Cotton Linnen, or had Cloths of the Bigness of Handkerchiefs to cover their Nudities: There were found also on board the Canoe, wooden Swords, edged with Flints, and Hatchets made of Copper; they had also Bells, Plates, and Crucibles of Copper to melt their Metal in.

Their Provisions were Maize, or *Indian* Corn, several Sorts of Roots, and Cacao Nuts, of which Chocolate is made.

The Admiral having taken out of the Canoe such Things as he liked, and given the *Indians* such *European* Goods in Return, as were most acceptable to them, he dismissed the Canoe, and all the People in it, except one old Man he detained to inform him of the State of the neighbouring Continent, and to serve him for an Interpreter among the Natives. The *Indians*, who were already on board the Admiral, it seems did not perfectly understand the Language of those on the Continent, that were taken in the Canoe; but learned, however, thus much from them, that North-West of the Province of *Honduras*, (on which Coast the *Spaniards* lay at this Time,) there lived a potent Prince, (afterwards found to be the Emperor of *Mexico*) and that to the South-East of *Honduras* was a narrow Strait, that led to a vast Ocean, (afterwards known by the Name of the South-Sea) which the Admiral determined to search out, rightly conjecturing that over that Sea he should find a Way to the Treasures and Spices of the *East-Indies*: But the Misfortune was, that the same Word which signified a Strait by Sea, might be, and really ought to have been, on

that Occasion, interpreted an Isthmus by Land; and if he had understood these *Indians* right, they would have inform'd him that there was a narrow Neck of Land, afterwards called the *Isthmus of Darien*, that separated the North and South Seas, or the Atlantick from the Pacifick Ocean. This Mistake caused the Admiral an infinite deal of Trouble and Fatigue; for upon this Intelligence he returned to the Eastward, in order to find out the imaginary Strait, labouring against the Trade Winds and Currents, which constantly sit to the Westward in the North Sea. As he sailed to the Eastward along the Coast of *Honduras*, his People frequently went on Shore and traffick'd with the Natives, exchanging Bells, glittering Beads and Toys, for thin Gold Plates: And here they were furnished with Water and fresh Provisions, such as Venison, Geese, Hens, Fish, and Beans, like Kidney-Beans. Most of these People went naked, only their Heads were covered with a Piece of Cotton Linnen, as were also their Nudities; and some of them had short quilted Waistcoats of Cotton, which served them for Armour, as well as Cloathing, and would defend them against a Stroke of their wooden Swords: Those that were naked, had the Figures of Beasts, Birds, Castles, &c. painted on their Arms and Bodies; and on rejoicing Days, when they would be very fine, they painted their Faces red or black, or marked themselves with long Strokes of various Colours, which made them look very deformed in the Eyes of the *Spaniards*, how agreeable soever they might appear to one another: They adorned their Necks, Ears and Noses, with thin Gold Plates, and those hung at their Ears stretch'd them to such a prodigious Size, that the Admiral gave the Coast of *Honduras* the Name of *De las Orejas*, or the Country of Ears.

The Admiral sailed along this Coast to the Eastward, till he came to the Cape, which he named *Gracias a Dios*, or Thanks be to God; because he was no longer obliged to struggle against the Winds and Currents; for here the Coast bending to the South, he continued his Voyage without any Difficulty, by the Assistance of Easterly Trade Winds. The Admiral found the People here very jealous
that

that the *Spaniards* had some Design upon their Country, and they came down armed, in great Numbers, with Bows and Arrows, Spears and Clubs, as if they intended to dispute their landing: But afterwards, finding the *Spaniards* only wanted to trade with them, they became more tractable, and exchanged Cotton Linnen, and Plates of Gold, for some *European* Toys. But, it happen'd, one of the Admiral's People taking out a Pen and Ink, and beginning to write down his Observations of the People and Country, the Natives immediately fled, and left all the Things behind them they had received of the *Spaniards*: From whence the Admiral conceived they thought they should be bewitched, if they conversed any longer with his Men. It is remarkable also, that here the *Spaniards* met with several dead Bodies embalmed, and wrapped in Cotton Sheets, and so perfectly dry, that they had no Manner of ill Scent. These were repositied in Tombs, in a large wooden House or Temple, and over each Tomb was laid a Board, with the Figures of Beasts carved on it; and, on some, the Figures of the Persons deceased, adorned with Beads, Gold Plates, &c.

Among other Creatures that the Country here produced, was a Kind of Cat of a greenish Colour, as big as a small Greyhound, but a longer Tail; which is so strong, that whatsoever they clap it about, is as it were tied with a Rope. These run about the Trees like Squirrels, leaping from one to the other; and when they leap, they do not only hold Fruit with their Claws, but their Tail too, by which they often hang, either to rest them, or sport.

Continuing their Voyage, and being come to a River called *Guaiga*, the Admiral commanded the Boats to go ashore; which, as they were doing, they saw above one hundred *Indians* on the Strand, who assaulted them furiously, running up to the Middle into the Water, brandishing their Spears, blowing Horns, and beating a Drum in Warlike Manner, to defend their Country, throwing the Salt Water towards the Christians, chewing Herbs, and spurning it towards them. Our Men not stirring, endeavoured to appease them, as they did, for at last they drew near to exchange the Gold Plates they had about their
Necks,

Necks, some for two, and some for three Horse Bells; by which Means we got sixteen Gold Plates, with one hundred and fifty Ducats.

On the second of *November*, the Admiral continuing his Voyage to the Eastward, came to a large commodious Harbour, to which he gave the Name of *Porto Bello*, which it retains to this Day: It lies in the Province of *Terra-firma Proper*, in ten Degrees North Latitude. Here he met with a great many *Indian* Houses well inhabited; and, on the Islands near the Shore, he found a great deal of *Indian Corn*, and other Refreshments; from whence he gave those Islands the Name of the *Bastimento's*. or the Islands of Provision. Here the Admiral, understanding that there were Gold Mines in the Province of *Veragua*, which lies to the Westward of *Terra-firma*, he returned again to that Coast.

Between *Porto Bello* and *Veragua*, they met with contrary and boisterous Winds, attended with such Thunder and Lightening, that the Men durst not open their Eyes, the Ships seemed to be just sinking, and the Sky to come down. Sometimes the Thunder was so continued, that it was concluded some Ship fired its Cannon to desire Assistance. Another Time there would fall such Storms of Rain, that it would last violently for two or three Days, insomuch that it looked like another universal Deluge.

Besides all these Terrors, there occurred another no less dangerous and wonderful, which was a Spout arising from the Sea, on *Tuesday* the 13th of *December*; which, if they had not dissolved by saying the Gospel of *St. John*, it had certainly sunk whatsoever it fell upon; for, as has been said, it draws the Water up to the Clouds like a Pillar, and thicker than a Butt, twisting it about like a Whirlwind. The Ships being now almost shattered to Pieces with the Tempest, and the Men quite spent with Labour, a Day or two's Calm gave them some Respite, and brought such Multitudes of Sharks about the Ships, that they were dreadful to behold; which, if they lay hold of a Man's Arm or Leg, cut it off like a Razor, for they have two Rows of Teeth in the Manner of a Saw. A Tortoise was taken out of the Belly of

one of these Sharks, and it afterwards liv'd aboard the Ship; but out of another was taken the whole Head of one of his own Kind, we having cut it off and thrown it into the Water, as not good to eat, no more than they are themselves, and that Shark had swallowed it, and to us it seem'd contrary to Reason, that one Creature should swallow the Head of another of its own Bigness, though it is not to be admired, because their Mouth reaches almost to their Belly, and the Head is shaped like an Olive.

At *Veragua* they found a plentiful Country, the Fields in some Places, for six Leagues together, being full of Maize, or *Indian* Corn: They observed that the Inhabitants here, when they talked to one another, or eat, turned their Backs to each other, and that they were always chewing a dry Herb, and sometimes they took a Sort of Powder with it; they were likewise very jealous of their Women: They caught Pilchards, and other small Fish, by raising a Partition of Palm Tree Leaves, two Yards high, in the Middle of their Canoes from Stem to Stem, and then plying about the Rivers, they make a Noise and beat the Shore with their Oars; on which the Pilchards, in their Fright, leap up, and striking the Partition, fall down into the Canoe: They had a Sort of red and white Wine, made of Maize, mixed with Spice, and likewise another Wine made of the Pith of a Sort of Palm Trees.

The Admiral being resolv'd to settle a Colony here, ten or twelve Houses were built and thatched, and stocked with all Sorts of Provisions, Ammunitions, &c. the Admiral's Brother and eighty Men being appointed to remain there; but understanding that *Quibio*, the Cacique of the Place, intended to set Fire to the Houses, and destroy the Men, because all the *Indians* were against their settling there, it was therefore thought proper to make him Prisoner with all their chief Men, and send them into *Spain*: The Admiral's Brother, therefore, with a few Men, went to his House, seizing him and thirty more, (among which were his Wives and Children) without any Resistance; but in carrying him down the River *Veragua*, *Quibio* the Cacique complaining that his Hands were too hard bound, one of the Sailors

Sailors loosed him from the Seat of the Boat, to which he was tied, and held the Rope in his Hand; but *Quibio* observing he did not mind him, threw himself into the Water with so much Force, that the Sailor was obliged to let go the Rope, lest he might pull him after. It being Night, they could not then distinguish whether he got to Shore, though they afterwards learnt he got safe there.

The Admiral now resolving to return to *Hispaniola*, sailed out of the River with great Difficulty, because of the Shallowness of the Water, and lay upon the Coast, waiting for a fair Wind; which, when *Quibio* and the *Indians* perceived, knowing the Ships could not then come up the River again, they fell on the Colony with great Shouts, casting Javelins at those they saw, and at the very Houses, which being only covered with Palm Tree Leaves, were easily pierced through; whereby one Man was killed, and several wounded; but the Admiral's Brother rallying out, and encouraging his Men, they beat the *Indians* back into the Woods.

A Boat that the Admiral had sent to take in fresh Water, was likewise attacked by them on a sudden, and all the Men to the Number of twelve kill'd, except one, who made his Escape by diving under Water till he got to Shore.

The Admiral, in the mean Time, waited in great Suspense at the Mouth of the River, wondering what had detained his Boat; but the Weather was so bad, that he could not by any Means send another to enquire about that, or to get any News from the Colony; and, to add to his Trouble, the Sons and Kindred of *Quibio*, whom they kept Prisoners on board the Ship *Bermuda*, to carry them to *Spain*, found Means to escape thus: At Night they were kept under Hatches, and the Scuttle being so high that they could not reach it, the Watch forgot to fasten it with a Chain as they used to do, especially because some Seamen lay upon it. The Prisoners therefore, one Night, gathering the Stones that were in the Hold under the Scuttle, and raising themselves on them, set their Shoulders against it, and forced it open, tumbling those that lay on it over and over, and some of the principal Men leaping out, cast themselves into the
Sea.

Sea. The Seamen taking the Alarm, many of them could not get out; and the Scuttle being fastened with the Chain, better Care was taken; but those that remained, in Despair because they could not get off with their Companions, hanged themselves with the Ropes they could come at, and so were found the next Morning, their Feet and Knees dragging upon the Bottom of the Hold, the Place not being high enough for them to hang, without touching, so that all the Prisoners aboard that Ship escaped or died. Tho' this Loss was not material to the Ships, yet, besides that, it increased the Number of Misfortunes, it was feared it might be hurtful to those ashore: Because *Quibo* would willingly have made Peace with them, to get his Children, and now there being no Hostage left, there was cause to suspect he would make War with the greater Fury. Being thus afflicted amidst so many Troubles and Disasters, having nothing to trust to but our Anchors and Cables, without knowing any Thing from Shore, there wanted not those who said, that since those *Indians*, only to obtain their Liberty, had ventured to leap into the Sea above a League from Shore, they, to save themselves, and so many more, would be content to swim ashore, provided that Boat which remained would carry them as far as where the Waves did not break. I say one Boat remained, which was that of the Ship *Bermuda*, for that of the *Biscaina* we said before was lost in the Fray, so that they had only that one Boat at present among the three Ships. The Admiral hearing these Seamen's honest Proposal, allowed of it, and so the Boat carried them within a Musket-shot of the Land, not being able to go nearer without great Danger, because of the great Waves that broke on it. There one *Peter de Ledesma*, a Pilot of *Seville*, threw himself into the Water, and with a good Heart got to Shore, where he learnt the Condition our Men were in, and how they all unanimously said they would not upon any Account remain there in that forlorn Condition, and therefore desired the Admiral not to sail till he had taken them off, for to leave them there was sacrificing of them.

The Admiral understanding the Rout, the Confusion, and Despair those ashore were in, he resolved to stay and bring them off, though not without great Danger, because his Ships lay in an open Road, out of all Shelter, and without Hopes of escaping, had the Weather grown more boisterous. But it pleased GOD in eight Days he continued there, the Weather mended so much, that those ashore with their Boat, and large Canoes fast bound together, that they might not overset, began to gather their Goods; and every one striving to be none of the last, they used such Diligence, that in two Days nothing was left ashore but the Hulk of the Ship, which, by Reason of the Worms, was unfit for Service.

The Admiral set Sail with the three remaining Ships, in a miserable shatter'd Condition, and arriv'd again at *Porto Bello*; where he was forced to leave another of his Ships, she was so disabled by the tempestuous Weather they had on this Coast, or the Worm; from *Porto Bello*, he directed his Course North, 'till he made the great Island of *Cuba*, and on *Midsummer-day* they arrived at *Jamaica*, their Ships so leaky, that they found it almost impossible to keep them above Water till they got to Shore. Whereupon they run them both a-ground in a small Creek close together, about a Musket-shot from the Land, where they supported and shored up the Ships with Timber, and liv'd on board them above a Year, trafficking with the Country People for Provisions; but they did not care to lie on Shore, for fear of being surprized and destroyed by the Natives, if any Quarrel should happen between them and the Spaniards.

In the mean Time, the Admiral sent over some of his Crew to *Hispaniola*, in open Canoes, to get Ships to carry him and his Company off. This was a very hazardous Enterprize; for these Canoes, which are only small Boats made out of Trunks of Trees, were to pass the Ocean about fifty Leagues, and are in Danger of being overset by every little Storm, being, when loaded, not more than a Span above the Water. However, they arrived safe at *Hispaniola*; but the Governor, who was an Enemy to the Admiral, delay'd sending

fending him Ships so long, that his People mutinied, and
 one half of them left him, and went on Shore on the Island,
 where they committed great Outrages, 'till the Admiral
 fought them, and reduced them to their Duty by Force,
 many of the *Spaniards* being killed on both Sides in the
 Engagement. At length, the Admiral's People having
 bought and fitted out a Ship, at his Charge. in the Island of
Hispaniola (in which they had no Assistance from the Gover-
 nor) they came back to *Jamaica*, and brought the Admiral
 off, after he had spent above a Year there in great Distress,
 and lain most of the Time Bed-ridden with the Gout. The
 Admiral arriv'd at *St. Domingo*, in *Hispaniola*, the 13th of
August, 1504; and, having settled his Affairs in that Island,
 where he had a good Estate, and Effects of Value, he re-
 turned to *Spain*, and arriv'd at the Port of *St. Lucar de Bar-
 rameda*, and thence to *Sevil*, where the Admiral took some
 Rest after the Fatigues he had gone through; and in *May*
 1505, set out for the Catholic King's Court, for the glori-
 ous Queen *Isabel* had the Year before exchange'd this Life
 for a better, which was no small Trouble to the Admiral,
 she having always favoured and supported him, whereas,
 the Catholick King had proved unkind, and averse to his
 Affairs; which plainly appeared by the Reception he gave
 him; for though to Appearance he shew'd him a favourable
 Aspect, and pretended to restore him to his full Power, yet
 he would have stripp'd him of all he had, had not Shame
 hindered him; which, as has been said, has great Power
 over noble Spirits, and the King himself, and Queen, had
 both engag'd their Faith to him when he went upon his
 last Voyage. But the *Indies* daily more and more discover-
 ing what they were like to be; and the King perceiving
 how great a Share fell to the Admiral, by Virtue of the Ar-
 ticles granted him, he strove to have the absolute Dominion
 in himself, and to dispose of all those Employments which
 belonged to the Admiral, according to his own Will and
 Pleasure. Hereupon he began to propose new Terms to
 him by way of Equivalent, which God would not permit
 to take Effect; because just then King *Philip* the first came

to reign in *Spain*, and at the Time his Catholick Majesty went from *Valladolid* to meet him, the Admiral much oppressed with the Gout, and troubled to see himself put by his Right, other Distempers coming on him, gave up his Soul to God upon *Ascension-day*, being the 20th of *May* 1506, at the aforefaid City of *Valladolid*, having devoutly received all the Sacraments of the Church, and said these Words last, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*; which through his infinite Mercy we do not question but he has received into his Glory: To which may he admit us with him.

His Body was afterwards conveyed to *Sevil*, and there by the Catholick King's Order magnificently buried in the Cathedral, and an Epitaph in *Spanish* cut on his Tomb, in Remembrance of his renowned Actions, and Discovery of the *Indies*.

The Words are these,

A CASTILIA, YA LEON,
NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

That is,

COLUMBUS gave CASTILE and LEON
a NEW WORLD.

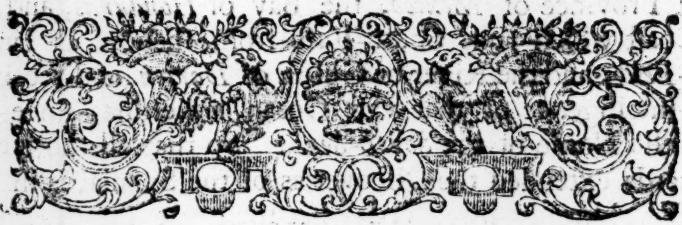
Words well worth observing, because the like cannot be found either among the Antients or Moderns.

From this Relation it appears, that the Admiral in Person discovered the *Lucayo's*, or *Bahama* Islands, the great Islands of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, and *Porto-Rico*, with several of the *Caribbee* Islands; that he afterwards discovered the Countries of *Paria* and *Guiana*, near the Mouth of the River *Oroonoko*, in *South-America*, and the Island of *Trinity*, which lies in ten Degrees North Latitude, before the Mouth of the said River *Oroonoko*; that he also discovered, *Yucatan*,

tan, a Province of *Mexico*; the Bay of *Honduras*, and all that Coast which runs South-East from thence, as far as *Porto-Bello*, and the River or Gulph of *Darien*, and received some Intelligence of that vast Ocean, which has since obtained the Name of the *South-Seas*: So that all those who afterwards extended the Discoveries of the Spaniards in the New World, only improved what the great *Columbus* had begun; and yet we find one of them, *viz. Americus Vesputius*, had the good Fortune to give his Name to that vast Continent, being from him called *America*.

F I N I S.





A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
Island *F O R M O S A*,
By GEORGE CANDIDIUS, *Minister of*
the Word of God in that Island.



H I S Island is situate in the 22^d Degree of Northern Latitude, its Circumference one hundred and thirty Leagues : It is very populous, and full of large and fair Villages, having no peculiar Language of their own, neither are the Inhabitants governed by any King or Prince, whom they acknowledge for their Sovereign, being constantly at War with one another. The Country abounds both in Cattle and Fish : There are also several Kinds of wild Beasts here, among the rest one with Horns like a Stag, called *Olavaugh* by the Inhabitants, some Tygers, and a certain Creature
called

Island FORMOSA. 81

called by them *Tinney*, not unlike a Bear, but much bigger ; its Skin is in high Esteem among them.

The Country is very fertile, but is not much cultivated ; most of their Trees grow wild, though there are some few that are planted and bear Fruits : There is also some Ginger and Cinamon there ; and many are of Opinion that this Isle is not destitute of Gold and Silver Mines.

Thus much of the Country in general : The Manners and Customs of all the Inhabitants, I will not pretend to enlarge upon at this Time, as being unknown hitherto, but will confine myself to those whose Manners, Language, Customs and Religion, I am satisfied in, by my own Experience.

The Inhabitants appear at first Sight to be very wild and barbarous, the Men very tall and strong limbed, beyond the Size of other Men ; they are of a dark brown Complexion, like most of the other *Indians* ; they go naked in Summer ; their Women are low of Stature, but very strong and fat ; their Complexion inclining more to an Olive Colour : They wear Cloaths, and don't discover their Nakedness, unless when they wash themselves, which they do constantly twice a Day in warm Water.

This Nation is very good-natur'd, affable and faithful ; they have always been courteous to us ; they are not addicted to stealing, but if they meet with any stolen Goods they will not rest satisfied till they have seen it restored to the right Owners.

Their chief Business is Agriculture ; they sow Rice, and though they have Plenty of very rich Grounds, yet they don't cultivate any more than they think will just suffice for their present Maintenance, so that sometimes they happen to fall short. The Women are to cultivate the Ground, and to do all the servile Labour ; they use neither Horse, Oxen, nor Plough : If the Rice happens to come up thicker in one Place than in another, they transplant it, which is not performed without a great deal of Labour and Pains : They know nothing of Scythes or Sickles, but make Use of an Instrument like a Knife, wherewith they cut their Corn Halm by Halm ; neither do they thresh it, but

but the Women hang in the Evening two or three small Bundles over the Fire to dry, and rise early in the Morning to stamp it for their Use the next Day, and this they repeat every Day throughout the Year. They sow likewise another Seed not unlike our Beans; they plant Ginger, Sugar, Rice, and Water Lemons, and some other Fruits unknown to us.

The Men lead generally an idle Life, especially the young ones, from the Age of eighteen till twenty-four; the old ones of fifty and sixty Years are the only Persons who are abroad with their Wives in the Fields, where they have small Huts, in which they sleep and dwell, and come scarce once in two Months to the Village.

Man and Wife do never habit here in one House, but each live in a House by themselves: The Wife always eats, drinks, and sleeps in her own Habitation, whither the Husband has the Privilege to come in the Night-time; but he must be careful either not to come before they are all in Bed, or if he does come before, he must not come near the Fire to be seen by any Body, but to Bed he sneaks; and if he wants any Thing, he dares not call, but by coughing or otherwise gives the Signal to his Wife, who steals to him as soon as the rest of the Family are gone to sleep. They make Use of no Pillows; their Bolsters are Pieces of Wood, and their under Beds the Skins of Stags or Deers. The next Morning, before Break of Day, the Husband must retire again, and not appear near the House in the Day-time, unless he is sure his Wife is at Home alone, and then he must not venture in without desiring first Admittance: If the Woman is in a good Humour, she gives him Leave; if not, away he goes again. The Wife has her own Grounds and Family, and so has the Man; the Man does not provide for her, nor she for him. The Children are kept by the Mothers till they are three Years old, and then they are sent Home to the Father. But one Thing is very remarkable in them, that their Wives are forbidden to bring forth any live Children, till they are thirty-six or thirty-seven Years of Age; wherefore they are obliged to kill their Children in the Womb, which they do thus: One

of their Priestesses is called in, who lays the Woman with Child upon a Bed, and squeezes her so long, till the Child is forced thus from her, which puts them into more violent Pains, than if they brought forth a Child according to the regular Course of Nature. They declare they do this, not for Want of Tenderneſs to them, but becauſe they are forc'd to it by their Priestesses, who persuade them that they cannot commit a greater Crime, than to bring Children into the World before the Age of thirty-six; by which Means many thousands are lost in a Year. I remember a certain Woman there, who told me herself, that she had thus been forced to miscarry sixteen several Times, and she was then big with the seventeenth, which she promised she would bring forth alive. When they are arrived to the Age of thirty-six or thirty-seven, they then first begin to bring Children into the World, as our Women do; and from that Age till fifty: And also from this Age of thirty-six, the Man and Wife cohabit together in the same House, though at the same Time they are but seldom at Home, but live for the most Part abroad in the Fields, where they have little Huts made on Purpose to sleep in.

All other Nations, as far as ever I knew, make Use of Men for their Priests, to sacrifice and attend the other Rites belonging to their Divine Worship: These People are the only one who have Women for their Priestesses, whom they call *Inibs*. Their publick Service is performed by praying and sacrificing; the last is performed with the Slaughter of a great Number of Hogs, by offering Rice and strong Liquor in the Temples to their Gods; after which, one or two of their Priestesses makes a long Oration to them, and whilst they are talking, turn the Eyes in their Heads, and make many Exclamations, till their Gods (as they say) appear to them; at which Time they fall down upon the Floor in an Extasy, like dead: Several Persons are employed to recover them; which being done, at last they tremble as if they were in the greatest Agony in the World, whilst the People send forth miserable Cries and Lamentations. After they have continued this for an Hour, the Priestesses get on the Top of the Temple, and strip themselves stark naked there in the Presence of the whole Congregation, who

are for the most Part Women : They shew their Nakedness to the Gods, pointing with their Fingers at, and clapping with their Hands upon it, whilst they address their Prayers to them in a long and tedious Harangue : The whole Ceremony is concluded with taking a large Dose of their strong Liquor. These *Inibs*, or Priestesses, are also sent for sometimes into private Houses, where they perform certain Ceremonies belonging to their Function ; they also pretend to banish the Devil, and to foretell Things to come : When they banish the Devil, they do it with their *Japonesse* Scymeters, with a hideous Clamour, and doleful Noise, by which they say they frighten the Devil, who drowns himself in the next River.

The Pastime of the Men is hunting and fighting : When they go Abroad a fighting, it is performed in the following Manner : If a Difference happens betwixt two or more Cantons, they denounce War to one another ; which done, twenty or thirty join in Company, or more if they please, and row in one of their Boats near to the Place where they hope to meet with the Enemy, and stay there till Night, (for it is to be observed that their Wars are carried on by Treachery only) then they search the Fields thereabouts, to see whether they can surprize some of them in their Field Cottages ; where, as we said before, those advanced in Years sleep most commonly : If they meet with any, they are sure to kill them immediately, without any Respect to Age or Sex ; afterwards they cut off their Heads, Arms and Legs ; nay, sometimes they cut the whole Carcase in Pieces, that every one may have a Share to carry Home to his Village : If they are in Haste to get off, they take only the Head along with them ; and if pursued, are sometimes contented with the Hair, as a Token of Victory. If they happen to meet with no Body in the Field, they make up to the next Village, where they surprize the first House they meet with, kill all that comes before them, and away they go with the Heads, Arms and Legs, before the Village can be raised ; for they have a certain Signal to alarm the rest, when an Enemy is at Hand, so that if they don't retire speedily, they often pay for it with their Lives, before they
can

can save themselves by Flight. If they think themselves strong enough, they are the first who sound the Alarm in the Village, to draw the Enemy into the open Field, where they fight it out stoutly, till one Party is worsted, which is commonly done as soon as a few Men are killed; for the Loss of a Man is looked upon with them, as much as among us *Europeans*, the Loss of an Army is.

After they have brought Home one or more Heads of their Enemies, nay if it be but a handful of Hair upon a Lance, they enter their Village in Triumph. The Head they fix on a Pike, which is thus exposed to the Sight of all the Inhabitants, who dance and sing to the Praise of their Gods; and wherever they pass by, they are entertained with strong Liquor. Afterwards the Head is carried to the Temple belonging to the Family of him who has gained the Victory, (for to sixteen or eighteen Families there appertains a Temple, where all the young Folk sleep at Nights,) there it is boiled all to Rags; the Bones are dry'd again, and dipped afterwards in strong Liquors: They offer Sacrifices of Hogs to their Idols, and feast for fourteen Days without Intermision. These Heads, Weapons, Arms, or Legs of their slain Enemies, are as much esteem'd among them, as in *Europe* Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. If a Fire happens to break out in one of their Houses, they leave all, and take Care to save such a Head; for he that can boast of such a Victory, is respected by all, so that for the fourteen Days after, scarce any Body dares to approach him.

All these Villages in general acknowledge no Head, no more than each of them in particular is governed by any superior Power. The only Thing which has any Resemblance to a Civil State, is a Council of twelve Men; these are changed every two Years; they must be all of the same Age, and above forty Years old; and though they are ignorant of the Computation of Time, as used among us, yet they have certain Marks, whereby to distinguish their Ages. After the Expiration of the Term of two Years, those who have been Members of this Council, cause some of their Hair to be pulled out on the Crown, and below both

the Temples, as a Token that they have born this Office. Their Authority is kept within very narrow Bounds, for they have no Authority of making a decisive Decree, but in Matters of any Moment they are obliged to summon the whole Village to appear in a Temple, where they propose the Matter to the People, and endeavour with various Arguments (of which they treat with a great deal of Eloquence, even to Admiration) to persuade them to what has been consulted in the Council before-hand: If they accept of it, it is valid; if not, it has no Force. Their chief Authority consists in this, *viz.* when their Priestesses (for Priests they have none) think fit to enjoin any Thing to appease the Anger of their Gods, to see it put in Execution, and to punish the Transgressors: But this Punishment does not extend to Imprisonment, much less to Death, but only to an inconsiderable Fine, perhaps of one of their Suits of Cloaths, of a Waistcoat, a Buck-skin, a small Quantity of Rice, or a certain Measure of their strongest Liquor. There is a certain Time in the Year appointed for the Men to go quite naked, else, they say, the Rice will not thrive for Want of Rain. Now, if it happens that a Member of this Council meets any one during that Time, who appears in his Cloaths, he has a Power to take them away, or to make him pay a Fine of a Buck-skin, or such-like; for which Purpose they watch them towards the Evenings, and in the Mornings, in those Places where they must needs pass, going to and coming from the Village. Of this I saw once an Instance myself; for as I was coming one Day from the Village of *Sincan* to the Village of *Mattan*, I met with some who were returning Home out of the Fields: One of them having some Cloaths about him, and seeing at a good Distance some of those Counsellors, desired me to take his Cloaths till we were past them; which I accordingly did. As we came near to them, one was very pressing with me to tell him to whom those Cloaths I carried belonged; which I refused to tell, and so we went into the Village, where I restored them to the Owner, who was very thankful to me.

At certain Times of the Year they are allowed to wear Cloaths, but nothing made of Silk, unless they will run the Hazard of having it taken away by these Counsellors. If their Females are excessive in their Cloaths upon their Festivals, they have Power to punish them, or to cut their Cloaths in Pieces. These Counsellors are also confined to certain Rules of Abstinency; when the Rice begins to ripen, they must not drink to any Excess. They must not eat any Suet or Fat; for else, as they pretend, the Deer and wild Boars would consume the Rice. If they happen to transgress in any of these Points, they are despised by the rest.

There is no Punishment appointed here for Thieving, Fornication, Adultery, or Murder: In these Cases every one is his own Judge, and gets the best Satisfaction he can. If any Thing be stolen, and the Thief discovered, he that has lost his Goods, goes with his Friends to the other's House, where he takes as much as he judges to be an Equivalent for what he has been robbed of; if the Thief makes any Resistance, they fetch it out by Force. So, if any one finds another Man to have an amorous Commerce with his Wife, he makes himself Amends, by taking two or three of his Hogs. If any one be killed, the Thing is made up among the Friends of both Parties, who are commonly satisfied with some Hogs or Buck-skins, to discharge him who has committed the Fact.

Though there be no such Thing as different Degrees of Dignity among them; nay, though their Language does not so much as afford a Word by which you might express what is called by us *Master* or *Servant*, they are nevertheless not void of all Respect to one another: And it is very observable that they don't measure their Esteem by Riches, but by the Age. If a young Man meets another pretty well advanced in Years, he goes out of his Way, and turns his Back to him till he be passed by; nay, if they happen to talk with one another, the younger will be sure not to turn about-till they have done. If an aged Person bids a young one to do a certain Thing, he never dares to refuse it, though it were to go two or three Leagues. When old and young

People

People are mixed in Company, the latter never attempt to speak; and at a Feast those advanced in Age are always first served.

Their Men are not at their own Liberty to marry when they please, no Man being allowed to marry before he comes to the Age of twenty-one. And though they have no certain Computation of Time, yet they have a Way of putting such as are born in the same Year in one Class, which they call in their Tongue *Saar Cassiwang*; so that those who don't belong to the same *Cassiwang*, must not marry with the rest.

They have a Custom of clipping the Hair of young People up to the Ears, till they are sixteen or seventeen Years old; after which Time they give it full Liberty to grow, as the *Chinese* do; and when it is come to a certain Length, they judge them fit for Marriage: But their Women are not restrained to any certain Time, but may marry when they are come to Maturity. Their Courtships they perform in the following Manner: If a young Man fancies a young Woman, he sends his Mother, Aunt, Sister, or some other Friend, to his Sweetheart's Habitation, who bring along with them the Presents usually offered upon such Occasions, to obtain her Parents or Friends Consent; if they accept of them, the Business is done, and the young Man has free Admittance the next Night, without any further Ceremony.

These Presents differ in Value, according to the Persons that give them: The richer Sort give commonly seven or eight Coats, with as many Shirts, three or four hundred Arm-rings twisted, of Reed or Canes; ten or twelve other Rings, which they wear on their Fingers; these are made either of Metal or white Hartshorn, four or five Inches in Circumference, and tied to their Fingers with red Dog's Hair; four or five Girdles made of coarse Linnen Cloth, ten or twelve Waistcoats made of Dog's Hair, called in their Language *Etharno*, twenty or thirty *Chinese* Waistcoats, each of which costs about half a Florin, a Bundle of Dog's Hair, as much as a Man is able to carry, which is a Commodity mightily esteemed among them, a Cap made in the
Form

Form of a Miter, made of Straw and Dog's Hair, very artificially twisted together, and four or five Pair of Breeches of Buck-skin: All which together, do not amount to above the Value of ten Pounds Sterling. This is for the Rich, but the poorer Sort come off for less.

Their Burials differ from all other Nations; for they neither bury them, nor burn them, as most of the *Pagans* do throughout the *Indies*. They lay the dead Carcase on a Table of about three Feet high from the Ground; round about which, at a convenient Distance, they make a moderate Fire, in order to dry by Degrees the Moisture of the Corpse: In the mean while they feast and dance, kill abundance of Hogs, and drink briskly of their strong Liquor. The Women have a very odd Way of dancing at this Time; for they take several Trunks of Trees hollowed out within; these they lay before the Mourning-House, and four or five of them at a Time, (after they have been summoned together by Beat of Drum, made likewise of the Trunk of a hollow Tree) jumping upon it with their Backs turned to one another, they make a strange Sort of a Noise, which serves them for their best Diversion for about two Hours in a Day: This is continued successively for nine Days; when the Corpse being well dry'd, and wash'd in the mean Time once a Day, it is wrapped up in Mats, and being laid up upon a pretty high Stage in one Corner of the House erected for that Purpose, it continues there three whole Years; after which they take the Remnants, which are nothing but the Bones, and bury them in a certain Place of the House.

I cannot forbear to mention here, how I once saw them myself handle one of their sick Men, in the Canton of *Theosany*: This Man being very ill, and complaining of a most violent Pain all over his Body, they ty'd a Rope about his Neck, and so drawing him up quite to the Cieling, let him fall again all on a sudden to hasten his Death.

They are not acquainted with any Thing like Books or Writing, all that they know of this Kind being transmitted to them from their Ancestors by Tradition. They believe the Immortality of the Soul; which, questionless, has introduced

introduced this Custom among them, that as soon as any Person dies, they erect a small Hut before the Entrance of the House, adorned with green Boughs and Flags ; in the Middle of it they put a Vessel full of fair Water, with a Cup by it to fill it out ; this is intended to purify the Soul from all Excrements : This is practised by every Body, but there is not one in a hundred who can give a Reason for it, unless it be a few of the antient and most understanding among them, who did alledge this Custom for their Opinion of the Immortality of the Soul to me ; and at the same Time they affirmed to me, that it was a very antient Tradition among them, that such as had not lived well, would be precipitated in a deep Hole, full of Dirt and Filth, where they would be forced to undergo great Torments ; but that such as had led a good Life, would dwell in a very pleasant and plentiful Country. Their Opinion is, that across this great Hole there is a Bridge, which the Souls must pass over before they can enter into this pleasant Country ; and that when those that have not lived well, are likewise to pass that Way, the said Bridge gives a Turn, and precipitates them into the Hole. The Sins which they suppose to deserve this Punishment, are far different from what is believed among Christians as to this Point, as having not the least Reference to the Ten Commandments ; they consist only in a Neglect of their Superstitions, such as to have neglected the certain Seasons of the Year, when they were to go naked, or to abstain from wearing of Silk ; to have brought forth live Children before the Age of thirty-six ; to have caught Fish or Oysters out of Season ; to have despised the Observations made of the flying of the Birds, and such like ; though at the same Time they don't encourage Lyes, Murder or Thefts ; yet they are not accounted Mortal Sins. When they are to confirm any Thing by a solemn Oath, they break a Piece of Straw Stalk betwixt them, which is looked upon as a Thing so sacred, that they seldom forfeit it. Drunkenness, as well as Fornication, is accounted no Sin neither in Men or Women, though as to the last they are very cautious not to do
it

it in publick. And it is worth Observation, that a Stranger will find it a hard Task to persuade a Woman here to lie with him ; though at the same Time they are of Opinion (as I have heard them confess myself) that their Gods take a great deal of Pleasure in Fornication ; for which Reason it is, that Parents never take any Notice of it in their Children, but rather sport with it, and look upon it as a Thing allowed to young People, they being not to marry till they have attained to the 21st Year of their Age.

They know nothing of the Resurrection of the Body : Instead of one God, they acknowledge many, unto whom they offer their Prayers and Sacrifices. One of these Gods is called *Tamagisanbach*, his Residence being in the South : He is reputed to make them handsome and vigorous : His Spouse, they say, dwells in the East, being called *Taxenopada*. When a Storm of Thunder arises in the East, they say this Goddess is attending her Husband, because he sends not Rain ; and the Husband being over persuaded by his Spouse, furnishes them with wet Weather. These are the two Favourite Gods of the Women. They have also another, whose Residence being in the North, is very hurtful to Mankind : They say, that after the God *Tamigisanbach* has made them beautiful, this God renders them deformed by the *French Pox*, and such-like Distempers ; wherefore they adore him, for Fear he should hurt them, and offer their Sacrifices to *Tamigisanchan*, to bridle his Malice, he being the Supreme Governor of the rest. They pray likewise to two other Gods, as often as they go into the War ; one's Name is *Talafula*, the other's *Tapaliape* : These two last are in greatest Esteem with the Men. Besides these, they have several other Gods, too many to be named here.

Their Houses are very stately and lofty, beyond what is to be observed in any other Part of the *Indies*, and are all built upon a small Eminency ; their Floors are of Cane ; their Ornaments both within and without are the Heads of Boars and Stags ; their Furniture is *Chinese* Linnen, (which they exchange for Rice and Venison) Buck-skins, which pass among them at the same Rate as Gold and Silver in *Europe*, some Instruments belonging to Agriculture, Lances,

No. 12.

M

Shields,

Shields, Swords and Bows : But their best Ornaments were the Heads of their Enemies. Their eating Vessels or Dishes are all of Wood, not unlike our Hog Troughs ; their Drinking Cups, some Earthen, some of Cane : All their Victuals are nastily dressed, except Rice. They have neither set Festivals, nor any other Days appointed for their Devotions ; besides, that they meet at certain Times of the Year to be merry, when they dance with their Wives, who then appear in their best Apparel.

Their best Stuffs of Cloaths and other Ornaments are made of Dog's Hair, which are pulled out of the Dog's Skin, whilst alive : These they dye red, and of other Colours, and use them as the *Europeans* do Wooll.

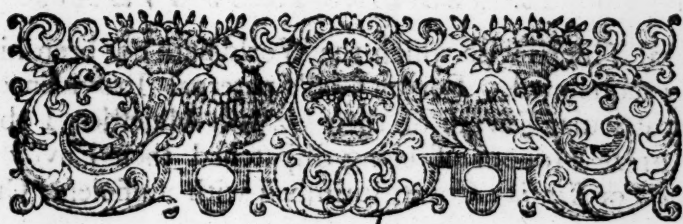
F I N I S.



T H E

PROCESSION of a BRIDE going home to her HUSBAND.





T H E
T R A V E L S

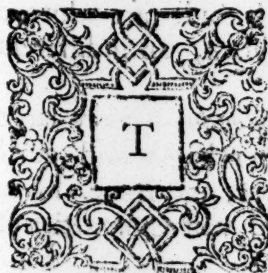
Of his Excellency

E. YSBRANTS IDES,

Ambassador from the Czar *Peter* the
Great, to the Emperor of *China*.

G I V I N G

A C O P I O U S A C C O U N T of the *Religion, Government,*
Marriages, Dwellings, Diët, daily Occupations, &c. of
several Nations.



H E most illustrious Czars, *John* and
Peter Alexowitz, having resolved to
send a splendid Embassy to the Great
Bogduichan, or Sovereign of the famous
Kingdom of *Kitai*, by *Europeans* com-
monly called *China*; this obliged me
with a favourable Opportunity of tra-
velling through Part of the famous,
but hitherto unknown *Siberian* and *Kitaian* Countries, and
informing myself by credible Witnesses of the Remainder
of those Lands, as well as obtaining certain Knowledge of

several Things with which the World hath not been hitherto truly acquainted. For by God's paternal Providence, and the particular Favour of their Czarish Majesties, I obtained the great Honour of being dispatched their Envoy to the *Chinese* or *Kitaian* Court, furnished with sufficient Credentials and other Necessaries.

The Preparation of my Retinue and Equipage took me up so much Time, that I did not set out before the 14th of *March*, 1692, when I went from *Moscow* in a Slead. The Beginning of my Journey proved very uneasy, by the violent Rain which accompanied us from *Moscow* to *Vollogda*, and occasioned such an Inundation, that our Sleads almost swam over the remaining Ice of the Rivulets and Brooks, and deep Roads. However, by the Divine Assistance, though not without Difficulty, we reached the City of *Vollogda*, where I rested three Days, in Expectation of better Weather, which happened according to my Wishes; for within two Days it froze so hard, and snow'd so violently, that all the Water was froze up in four and twenty Hours; so that we could easily pass all the Rivulets and Ditches in our Sleads, without any Apprehension of Danger. The 22d of the same Month, I set forwards from *Vollogda* to *Suckbina*, where I arrived on the 23d, and without stopping advanced to the City of *Great Ustiga*, where the Rivers *Suckbina* and *Irga* unite, and thereby compose the famous River *Dwina*; the Name of which imports a double River.

The Course of the *Suckbina* is almost full North, through a fertile Country, and its Banks on each Side are adorned with well inhabited Villages, besides *Totma*, an indifferent City, situated on its left Shore.

I came the 29th of *March* to *Solowitzjogda*, a very large City, inhabited by many considerable Merchants and curious Artificers, especially in Silver, Copper, and Bone. Here are also a great many Salt Pits that yield vast Quantities of Salt.

The 1st of *April* we reached the Province of *Sirene*, or *Wollost Usgy*, whose Inhabitants speak a Language that has not the least Affinity with the *Muscovite*, but is somewhat like the barbarous *Livonian* Language. The People do

not

not live in Cities or Towns, but for the most Part in small Villages, built in the large Woods. They generally live by Agriculture, except that Part of them which is employed in the Manufacture of *Grey Furs*.

This Country terminating in a great Forest, we were again infested with a violent Rain, and such a Thaw, as in the Space of one Night swelled the Waters to that Degree, that I could not pass them without great Difficulty. In this uneasy Condition I remained four Days, during which Time I was obliged to struggle with all the incident Inconveniences: Our Sleds swam continually, and the Rivulets and Brooks on each Side of the Woods poured in upon us; so that, as though we had been in a Sea, we could neither proceed forwards, nor return backwards: Nor would the Ice of the great Rivers bear any longer. Notwithstanding which, by the Help of Bridges and other proper Means, at last, on the 6th of *April*, I reached *Kaigorod*, an indifferent large, but very strong City, on the River *Kama*.

From thence I designed to have set forwards immediately to *Solikamskoi*, the chief City of *Great Permia*, in order to prosecute my Journey to *Siberia*, over the Mountains of *Werchaturia*; but the Thaw at the End of Winter continuing, forced me to alter my Resolution, and stay there several Weeks, till the opening of the River *Kama* favoured my Departure by Water.

After my Vessel was equipped, and the *Kama* free of the Ice, on the 23d of *April* we set forwards, and safely arrived on the 27th in the City of *Solikamskoi*.

Solikamskoi is a very fine, large, and rich City, where several very considerable Merchants reside. Here are also many Salt-Works or Pits, and very near fifty *Saline* Springs, from twenty-five to thirty-five Ells deep; out of which great Quantities of Salt are taken and boiled, and thence shipped off in great Tide-Ships built for that Purpose; each of which will easily stow from one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand *Poods*; that is, from one thousand six hundred to two thousand Ton, manned with about seven or eight hundred Sailors and Labourers, and furnished with Kitchens, Bagnio's, and all Sorts of Conveniencies. These
Vessels

Vessels are from thirty-five to forty Ells long, and carry a Mast; to which is fixed a Sail of thirty Fathom broad, which they make Use of to sail up the River when the Wind is good; but when they go down, they only row, and that chiefly to keep the Ship's Head right, which the Rudder alone is not strong enough to do. They are flat bottom'd, and have no Nails, or other Iron-Work in them, but are made entirely of Wood. They float along the *Kama* with the Tide, till it falls into the famous River *Wolga*, where they are forc'd to be towed up against the Tide, or sail up if the Wind be favourable; but the Salt is unladen from *Kasan* to *Nisna* on the *Wolga*, and at several convenient Places.

The 14th of *May* I set forwards from *Solikamskoi* by Water, and passed on the *Ufolkat*, a small River about half a Mile from the City, again into the *Kama*: On which River we drove entirely out of *Europe* into *Asia*. So on *Whitsunday* I went on Shore, and upon a high and beautiful green Hill eat my last Dinner in that Part of the World on the Grass: And after I had drank a Glass of Wine, as a Farewell to dear *Europe*, I immediately returned on board, in order to proceed on our Voyage along the River.

Having thus entered the *Asiatick* River *Suzawaia*, we found it far less agreeable than the beautiful *Kama*; which is a fine River, abounding with all Sorts of Fish, and from *Solikamskoi* to this Place adorned with very large Villages and Towns, several very expensive Salt-Works, fertile Corn Grounds, fruitful Lands, spacious Fields, beautified with all Sorts of Flowers, Woods, &c. all wonderfully pleasant: But though the Banks of the *Zawaja* which falls Westward into the *Kama*, are not less beautiful and fruitful, yet we found our passing this River very tedious; for by the high Water we made but a very small Progress in several Days, being obliged to be towed along with a Line: However, at last, after twelve Days, and tiresome tugging against the Stream, we came to and touched at a pleasant Shore on the 25th of *May*, amongst the first *Siberian Tartars*, called *Wogulski*. I must acknowledge, that the well-peopled Countries on the Sides of this River, deserve to be reckoned
amongst

amongst the most charming in the World. And when in the Mornings or Evenings I stepped on Shore to divert myself, and went within Land towards the Hills, I every where found the most beautiful Flowers and Plants, which emitted a most agreeable fragrant Scent, and all Sorts of wild Beasts running about in great Multitudes. But the *Wogulskian Tartars*, to which this River led us, are stupid Heathens, which induced me to pry more narrowly into their Religion, Manner of Living, and other Circumstances ; and for this End I went on Shore, and lodged a Night amongst them.

These are a People that have not much more to pretend to than a Human Face and Figure ; they have but a very small Share of Understanding, and in all other Particulars are very like Wolves and Dogs, for they eat all Manner of dead Carcasses, whether of Horses, Asses, Dogs or Cats, which die a natural Death ; as well as Whales, Sea-Cows, Sea-Calves, or Horses, &c. which are thrown upon the Shore by the Ice ; nor do they take the Trouble of dressing these Meats, but devour them raw.

They make a very disagreeable Figure all over, insomuch that I may venture to affirm, that such a shocking ill looked People are not to be found on the Surface of the whole Earth. Their Stature is short and flat ; they have broad Shoulders and Faces, flat and broad Noses, great blubber hanging Lips, and frightful Eyes, like those of the Linx. They are very brown all over ; their Hair is dishevelled, some of it being red or pale, but most of it is as black as Pitch ; they have very little Beards ; their Skin is brown and hard, and they are very swift Runners. The Roebucks which they use to draw their Sleds in Winter, are horned and shaped like Harts, but have crooked hanging Necks, like those of Dromedaries ; besides which, what is observ'd of them is very particular, that they are as white as Snow in Winter, and greyish in Summer : They are fed with Moss, which grows on the Ground in the Woods.

These People are naturally robust, and have remarkably large Heads. Their whole Worship consists in making an Offering once a Year ; when they go in Crouds into the Woods, and kill one of each Species of the Beasts, of all
which

which they prefer the Horfe and Tyger as beſt ; they ſlea off the Skins, hang up the Carcaſe on a Tree, and fall proſtrate on the Earth, and in their Way pray to it ; after which they eat the Fleſh together, and return Home ; which done, they are free from the Trouble of praying for that Year. *What Need of praying any oftner than once a Year ?* ſay they. They are not able to give the leaſt Account of the Original or Import of their Faith, but only that their Forefathers did ſo, and they think good to follow their Example.

I aſked them concerning their Knowledge of GOD, and whether they did not believe that there was a God and Lord in Heaven above, that had created, preſerved and governed all Things, and gave Rain and fair Weather ? To which they replied, we may very well believe that, for we ſee that the Sun and Moon, thoſe two bright Lights which we worſhip, and the Stars alſo, are in Heaven, and there is one which rules them. They would not in the leaſt hear of the Devil, becauſe he never appeared, or revealed himſelf to them. They acknowledge a Reſurrection of the Dead, but are ignorant what Sort of Rewards to expect, whether corporal or not. When any of them die, they bury the Carcaſe without any Grave Stone ; and be it Man or Woman, all his or her beſt Apparel and Ornaments, beſides ſome Money, according to the Ability of the Deceaſed, are buried with the Corps, to the End that he may have ſome Cloaths on, and ſomething to ſpend at the Time of the Reſurrection. They cry over the dead Corps in a diſmal Manner, and the Huſband is obliged to continue a Widower a Year after the Death of his Wife.

They have no daily Practice of Religion, otherwiſe than that, like the *Persians*, they worſhip the Sun and Moon, by bowing their Bodies Night and Morning ; beſides which, they keep near and in their Tents Idols that hang on Trees ; ſome of them are wooden Images, repreſenting Human Figures, others made of Iron, to which they ſhew ſome Reſpect : Their Tents are covered with Birch Barks ſewed together, and when they remove them, as they frequently do in Winter as well as Summer, they ſet up the Stakes round with

with the Points together, and upon these they lay the Covering of the before-mentioned Bark over them, leaving a Hole at the Top for the Passage of the Smoke. Their Fire is made in the Middle of their Tents, round which they lie at Nights naked, both Men and Women. They lay their Children in Boxes or Cradles made of Birch Bark sewed together, filled with Shavings of Trees, which are as soft as Wooll, and covered with Buck Skins.

They marry within the Degrees of Consanguinity, without the least Scruple, and buy one another's Daughters for Wives, giving for them Bucks and Hides; and, according to the Custom of several Eastern Nations, they take as many Wives as they can keep. When they design a Merry-making, they stand in Couples opposite to each other, throw up one of their Legs, and mutually clap the Soles of their Feet so hard with their Hands, that it may be heard at a Distance. Instead of singing, they make a howling Noise like that of Bears; they neigh like Horses, or chirrup like young Birds.

If a Dog dies, that in Hunting or any other Way has been serviceable to them, they erect in Honour of him, a small wooden Hut, on four Props of Earth; in which they lay the dead Dog, and suffer him to continue there as long as the Hut lasts. When a Woman is pregnant, and near her Delivery, she is obliged to retire into a Hut in a Wood, erected for that Purpose, where she is delivered; and the Husband and she are not permitted to come near each other for the Space of two Months after.

They have very few Marriage Ceremonies besides treating the nearest Relations; after which the Bridegroom goes to Bed to the Bride. Amongst other Discourse, I admonish'd them, that it was Time to acknowledge CHRIST, the Saviour of the World, and turn to him; which would secure their Temporal and Eternal Welfare. To this they answered, *As for what concerns Temporals, we daily see vast Numbers of poor Russians that can hardly get a Piece of dry Bread, and nevertheless some of them believe in CHRIST; and as for the Eternal Things, they left them to themselves.* And at the same Time declared, that they would live and

die in the Opinion of their Forefathers, whether right or wrong.

Their Habits are neither extravagant nor ridiculous. Their Dwellings are quadrangular wooden Rooms, like those of the *Russian* Peasants ; only instead of Ovens, they use Hearths, on which they burn Wood, and dress their Victuals. The Smoke-Hole, which is in the Roof, is covered with Ice, as soon as the Wood is burnt to a Coal, which keeps the Warmth in the Room, and the Light strikes through the clear Ice. They have no Chairs, but instead of them a broad Bench round the Room, about an Ell high, and two Ells broad ; on which they sit like the *Persians*, with their Legs across under them, and sleep on them at Night. They live on what their Bow and Arrows furnishes them with. Their chiefest Game are *Elks*, whole Herds of which are found here ; these they cut in Pieces, and hang in the Air round their Houses to dry : If it happens to rain upon them, and they begin to stink abominably, they dry them again, and eat them as a Delicacy. They do not eat either Cocks, Hens, or Hogs. They have a pleasant Way of catching wild Beasts ; for they place a Sort of great Bows in the Woods, fastening a String to them, to which they fix some Corn, or other Bait, leaving only a Place for the Game to enter, so that the *Elk*, or any other Beast that comes in there, cannot pass by without touching this Snare ; and when the Bow lets fly, the Arrows enter the fore Part of the Body, and he presently falls down. They also dig great Pits in the Woods, which they cover with Reeds and Grass, so that if any Beast comes thither, he falls in and is taken.

These *Tartars* live in their Villages all along the River *Iuzawaia* to the Castle of *Utka*, and are under the Protection of his *Czarish* Majesty, to whom they pay Tribute, and live in Security and Peace. The Extent of Land, which they inhabit, reaches about eight hundred *German* Miles in the North Part of *Siberia*, and even to the North *Samojedes*.

Near this Coast, as far as *Weygats* and *Meseem*, are all Sorts of Quadrupeds, particularly Wolves, Bears, Foxes, Harts, &c. The Fowls are Ducks, Partridges, &c. being
Snow-white

Snow-white in Winter ; which is so very severe, that about *Samojeda*, I have myself seen Rooks and Magpies fall down dead in their Flight, being killed by the piercing Frost.

After leaving these Heathens, we arrived at the Castle of *Utka* on the first of *June*. This Place is a Frontier Fortification against the *Baskirian* and *Uffimischian Tartars*.

On the twentieth of the same Month, setting forwards from *Utka* in Waggons drawn by Horses, we passed the Castle of *Ajada*, and crossed the River *Neuia*, which runs round it. After which, we proceeded by the River *Reesch* to the Castle of *Arsamas*, and from thence to the Castle of *Neuianskoi*, on the above-mentioned River *Neuia*. This Journey by Land to *Neuianskoi* proved one of the pleasantest in the World, since I met therein with most charming Fields, Woods, Brooks, and standing Waters, as also extraordinary fertile and well tilled Grounds, perfectly well inhabited every where by *Russians*, and furnished with all Necessaries at a very cheap Rate.

On the first of *July*, I arrived safe at *Tobolesk* : Which City is surrounded with a large Stone Cloyster, with high Watch-Towers, which may pass for a Fortification.

Tobolesk, *Tobolska*, or *Tobolskoi*, is the chief City of *Siberia*. This Province is every where very well peopled, as well by *Russians* who depend on Husbandry, as by all Sorts of Nations, particularly *Tartars* and Heathens, which pay Tribute to his *Czarish* Majesty. This City is defended by a strong Garrison ; which, upon Order of the *Czars*, can bring nine thousand Men into the Field : Besides which, there are several thousands of *Tartars*, who serve all on Horseback, on Occasion.

About an hundred Years ago, this City and the whole Province of *Siberia*, became subject to the *Czar*, by the following Accident : *Jeremak Timefeiewitz*, a very famous Robber in the Reign of *Czar Ilam Wasilewitz*, having plundered these and all the adjacent Countries, had greatly injured the Subjects of his *Czarish* Majesty : When he was pursued, he and his Companions fled up the River *Kama*, and from thence into the River *Iuzawaja*, which falls into the *Kama*, where lie the Lands of *Strogino*, famous for his

vaſt Eſtate and Iron Works, which take up the greateſt Part of the Shore, and ſtretch to the Length of ſeventy *German Miles*. It was this rich Man's Grandfather that he applied himſelf to for Protection, and begged his Inter. in obtaining his *Czariff* Maſteſty's Pardon, offering at the ſame Time, by Way of Atonement, to reduce the whole Province of *Siberia* to be ſubject to the *Czar*. Purſuant to which, he alſo obtained from the above-mentioned *Stroginoſſ*, Aſſiſtance of Barks, Arms, and neceſſary Workmen : And thus provided and accompanied with his Fellow Robbers in light Barks, he paſſed up the River *Serebrenſkoy*, which runs by the North-Eaſt Part of the *Werchaturian Hills*, and falls into the *Iuzuwaja* ; thence he conveyed his Equipage by Land to the River *Tagin*, on which he ſailed into the *Tura*, took the Fort of *Tumeen*, ſituate thereon, razed it to the Ground, and advanced up the River *Tobol* to *Tobolſka*, where then reſided a *Tartarian* Prince, aged about twelve Years, whoſe Name was *Altanai Kutzjumowitz*, whoſe Deſcendant is ſtill honoured with the Title of the *Siberian Czarewitz*. This City he likewiſe attacked and took with ſmall Loſs ; after which, he carried the Prince Priſoner to *Moscow*, and put the conquered City in a better Poſture of Defence.

After this Succeſs, he proceeded down the River *Jetiſch* ; but was ſet upon in the Night by a Party of *Tartars*, not far from *Tobolſki*, who cut off a great many of his Men, and he himſelf endeavouring to ſtep from one Bark to another, leaped ſhort, and by Reaſon of his heavy Armour, ſunk to the Bottom : His Body was carried away by the Force of the Stream, and never found. In the mean while, *Stroginoſſ* had obtained the *Czar's* Pardon for *Jeremak*, and ſeveral hundred *Muſcovite* Officers and Soldiers came and garrifoned the Places which he had taken ; and from this Juncture the *Czar's* Sovereignty over *Siberia* is to be dated.

The *Tartars* that live round *Tobolſka*, for ſeveral Miles, are all *Mahometans*. I being ſomewhat curious to ſee their religious Worſhip, the *Waiwode* went with me, and by Virtue of his Authority, gave me an Opportunity which they will not allow another Perſon. Their *Metſchets*,
called

called by other Authors Mosques, or Churches, had large Windows round them, all which were set open: The Floor was covered with Tapisstry, besides which there was no other Ornament. All Persons at their Entrance leave their Shoes or Slippers at the Door, and sit themselves down in Rows, with their Legs under them: The Chief Priest sat there in a white Callico Habit, and a white *Turkish* Turbant on his Head. Then I observed one behind the People cry with a hoarse loud Voice, and after he had said something to them, they all fell on their Knees; then the Priest utter'd some Words, and afterwards cried out, *Alla, Alla, Mabomet*, which the whole Assembly roared out after him three Times successively, prostrating themselves on the Ground: This done, the Priest looked into both his Hands, as tho' he designed to read something there, and repeated *Alla, Alla, Mabomet*: Then he looked first over his Right Shoulder, then over his Left, which all the People did after him; and so their short Devotion was ended.

The Mufti, or Chief Priest, is an *Arabian*, whom they highly reverence; and they very much esteem any Person that can read or write the *Arabick* Language. This Priest invited us to his House, which was near the *Metschet*, and treated us with a Dish of Tea.

There are also in this *Calmackian* Country great Numbers of *Tartars* that are used for Slaves, as also some long imprisoned *Calmackian* Princes; all which are the Consequences of Wars, which one Tribe of these barbarous Nations have carried on against another, and this in a desert Country, more than wide enough for them all.

From the City of *Tobolski*, I went to *Samaroskoy-Jam*. In this Country are Numbers of great black Bears, Wolves, and red and grey Foxes. Here I am to relate what the Inhabitants told me as a Truth: That one Year, in the Harvest-time, early in the Morning, an extraordinary large Bear broke into one of the Cow-Houses in this Town, seized a Cow, held her fast by the Shoulder with his two fore Feet, and carried her off, going on his hinder Feet only. Upon the lowing of the Cow, the Owner and several of the Neighbours came out, saw it, and all ran at the Bear,

Bear with Fire-Arms and Clubs ; notwithstanding which, he would not part with his Prey till they fired and killed the Cow.

Most of the Inhabitants here are *Russian Jemskicks*, who are in the Pay of his *Czarish* Majesty, for which they supply the *Waywodes* that are ordered this Way, and all other Persons who travel on the *Czar's* Affairs in *Siberia*, with free Carriages and Men to work ; and are obliged to carry them by Water in Summer, and over the Ice in Winter, as far as *Surgut*, situate on the *Oby*, at a very reasonable Price. These People keep great Numbers of Dogs, which they make Use of to travel with in Winter, for it is utterly impossible to pass this Country with Horse Sleads, by Reason that sometimes the Snow on the *Oby* is above a large Fathom deep, so that no Horse could travel.

These Dogs are yoked two to each Narta, or Slead, which is for that Purpose made very light and thin, and carry from two to three hundred, *German* Weight. The Slead nor the Dogs are not hurt by the Snow, but both run very swiftly over, leaving a Trace only of the Depth of a Finger's Breadth. Some of these Dogs know before-hand whether there is like to be any Work for them, as we were vainly told ; and if they are likely to be employed, they herd together in Crowds, and howl in a dismal Manner, whence their Masters draw their Presages. If, when they are on the Way, they are inclined to hunt, the Master takes his Gun on his Shoulder, and puts on his long sliding Shoes, with which he goes over the Ice, takes his Dogs with him, and stepping a little Way into the Wood, turns up all Manner of wild Game, perhaps a fine black Fox ; and they divide what is taken fairly, for the Skins of the Game are the Master's, and the Flesh belongs to his Dogs. Thus they make a very profitable Use of these Draught Dogs, which are middle sized, sharp-nosed, with long erected Ears, and carry their Tails crooked ; some of which are very much like Wolves or Foxes, insomuch, that as they lie asleep in the Woods, they are sometimes by Mistake shot for one of those two Species : To countenance which, it is also affirmed, as a Thing certain, that these Dogs mix their Strain by

by a promiscuous Copulation with that of Wolves and Foxes ; whence, as our Informers asserted, whenever a Courting-Match happens among the Inhabitants, they find a great Number of both Species near the Villages, as has been frequently observed.

On the sixth of *August* we reached the City of *Surgut*, situate on the Eastern Shore of the *Oby* : The Inland Country for some Distance Eastwards of *Surgut*, as also farther up the *Oby*, about or near the City of *Narun*, produces Sables, some of which are pale, and others as black as Pitch, the finest and largest Ermines in all *Siberia* and *Russia*, and above all black Fox-Skins, which are the very finest and richest any where : Among the best of these Fox-Skins, which are reserved for his *Czarish* Majesty, there are some which are valued from two to three hundred Rubles a Skin, that are so very black, that the blackest *Daurian* Sable is not comparable to them. These Foxes are caught by Dogs ; of which the Inhabitants related the following very remarkable Accident, in strong Terms ; but let the Reader believe as he pleases.

Last Year, near a Village adjacent to *Surgut*, by Day-Light, an extraordinary fine Fox discovered himself ; upon Sight of which, a Boor let loose his Dogs : The Fox was within Sight of the Peasant, and the Dogs soon got up to him ; but when this subtle Animal saw that it was impossible to escape the Hounds by Flight, he fawning ran to meet them, tumbled on his Back before them, and licked their Mouths, ran backwards and forwards, and played with them : The unexperienced Dogs, softened by his fawning Treatment, did the sly Fox no Manner of Hurt, but suffered him to escape into the Wood ; so that the poor Peasant having no Fire-Arms at Hand, notwithstanding all his Vigilance, did for that Time loose Sight of this rich Booty.

But two Days afterwards, the same Fox returned to the same Place ; which the Peasant was no sooner aware of, but he took another, and his best Dog, with him, which was white haired ; and full freight with fresh Hopes of this rich Game, he runs this Dog at the Fox ; but the black Dogs flew towards him, and while he was fawning on them, the
white

white Hound was so cunning as to fawn at first, but being come within Reach, he took a good Leap at him, and had certainly seized him, if he had not, by leaving a Piece of his Side behind him, sprung nimbly from him, and escaped into a thick Wood, where it was in vain to look for him.

The Boor was at last, however, too hard for this subtle Fox, for he coloured his white Dog all over black, that the Fox (who was become shy of him) might not know him; which done, he went the third Time on this Course with his dy'd Dog, and was so fortunate that his Hound smelt him out; upon which, the Fox seeing the disguised Dog, fawned on him without the least Fear, taking him for one of the first black Hounds, with whom he designed to play again: And in this Posture they approached each other; when the Dog, watching his Opportunity, grasped the careless Fox, and so caught this shy Beast with his fine Skin, which proved very well worth the Peasant's Trouble, he selling it for an hundred Rubles.

Here are great Numbers of those which are called *Cross-Foxes*, whose Skins are of a mixed Black and Grey, but very few perfect black. Red Foxes and Hyænas, as also Beavers, are very plenty in this Country; but the Hyænas are very mischievous, and live on Prey. They, like the Linx's, place themselves in the Trees, and lie very still and close, till a Hart, an Elk, a Doe or an Hare, runs under the Tree; from which they leap upon him, eat a Hole in his Body, and continue gnawing till the Beast, by Force of Pain, falls down, and consequently comes to their Share. One of the *Waiwods* kept a Hyæna alive for his Diversion, which he put into the Water, and let two Water Dogs loose at him; but he immediately leaped upon the Head of one of them, and held him so long under Water, till he drowned him; after which, he swam to the other, whom he had treated in the same Manner, if he had not been interrupted by throwing Wood at him, till the Dog, taking his Opportunity, swam out.

But with Regard to the Beavers, which herd here in great Numbers, some very strange Particulars are related as Truths, though they seem incredible; wherefore I take it to
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be worth my Pains to touch a little on their Properties, of which the following are all seriously averred to me. The greatest Part of their Food being Fish, they harbour on the Shores of those Rivers which abound most with Fish, and which are not much troubled with Passengers. In the Spring they not only herd together, but assemble themselves into a Society, and pick out some, and seize others as Prisoners, whom they carry to their Holes, and oblige them to serve as Slaves. They fell Trees with their Teeth, carry them to their Dwellings, and there hack out their Wood to a certain Length, which they artificially fix together like Joyners-work, and Chests, and there they lay up separately all their Summer Store of Provisions: And about the Season of this Preparation, the Time of the Female Beavers Bringing-forth approaches; upon which the Inhabitants told me improbable Things of their Practices: They say, that against that Juncture the whole Neighbourhood go together, and frequently gnaw a Tree of above an Ell Circumference, for the Length of above two Fathom, even to the inner Pith, till it falls down; that they are expert enough to bring it to their Holes by Water, and that they can rear it upright before the Entrance of their Holes so artificially, that the Tree stands perpendicularly in the Water above an Ell deep, and yet touches no Ground, and that so firm and immoveable in its Line or Centre, that though the Wind blows ever so hard, the Tree remains firm in its Place. All which seems unnatural, and yet all the *Siberians* that I ever discoursed with, unanimously affirmed it, and added several other Things concerning these Beasts, which seem rather the Effects of Human Reason, than within the Compass of that Instinct which guides irrational Brutes.

Having passed several Miles up the *Oby*, Part of which we sailed, and towed the rest with a Line, on the thirteenth of *August* we passed by the Mouth of the *Wagga*, which riseth out of the *Turganian* Mountains.

The Banks of the *Oby* to this Place, are inhabited by a People called *Ostiacks*; who worship Terrestrial Gods, but acknowledge, that according to Nature there must be a Lord in Heaven, that governs all; nevertheless, they do

not pay any Worship at all to him, but have their own Gods made of Wood and Earth, in several Human Shapes. Some of the richest amongst them dress their Deities in filken Cloaths, made after the Fashion of those of the *Russian* Women. All of them have these Idols placed in their Huts, which are made of Barks of Trees, sewed together with Harts Guts. On one Side of the God hangs a Bunch of Human and Horse Hair, and next that a wooden Vessel with Milk Pap, with which they daily supply their Idols, and thrust it into their Mouths with a Spoon made for that Purpose; but in as much as these Idols cannot swallow this their Milk Diet, it runs out again at both Sides of their Mouth, down their whole Bodies, in such a filthy Manner, as is sufficient to disgust one from eating that Food. When this nice God is to be worshipped, or prayed to, his Adorers stand bolt upright, and toss their Heads up and down, without bending their Backs in the least; besides which, they chirrup or whistle through their Lips, as we do when we call a Dog; and in these Fooleries consist their Devotion.

They call their Gods *Saitan*, and might indeed very well say *Satan*. Once several *Ostiacks* came on board the Ship in which I was, to sell us Fish, and one of my Servants had a *Nuremburg* Bear in Clock-work, which, when wound up, drummed and turned his Head backward and forward, continually moving his Eyes till the Work was down. Our People set the Bear at Play a little; and as soon as ever the *Ostiacks* saw it, all of them performed to it their customary religious Worship, and danced excessively to the Honour of the Bear, nodding their Heads, and whistling at a great Rate. They considered our Bear as a right *Saitan*, crying out, *What are our Saitans which we make? If we had such a Saitan, we would hang him all over with Sables and black Fox Skins*. They also asked, whether this Clock-Work was to be sold; but I ordered it out of their Sight, to avoid administering any Occasion to Idolatry.

As for what farther concerns these Heathens, they have as many Wives as they can maintain, and marry their near Relations without any Scruple. If a Relation dies, they

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ery incessantly for several Days, covering their Heads, and kneeling on their Knees in their Huts, and will not suffer themselves to be seen ; but they carry the Corpse on Poles to the Ground to be buried. They are a poor People, and live very miserable in sorry Huts. They might, indeed, live very happily and well, since all Parts near the *Oby* abound with great Quantities of rich Furs ; besides that, there is extraordinary good fishing in that River, in which are very fine Sturgeons, Jacks, &c. insomuch that twenty great Sturgeons may be bought of them for three Penny-worth of Tobacco ; but they are so horrid lazy, that they do not desire to get any more than will barely suffice them annually for the Winter ; for when they travel, they eat mostly Fish, especially when they are on the Water fishing, for then they live on nothing else. They are all of a middle Stature, most of them yellowish or red hair'd, and their Faces and Noses disagreeably broad : They are weak, and unable to labour hard, not at all inclined to Wars, and unfit for Military Exercis-s. Bows and Arrows are their Weapons, with which they shoot wild Beasts, though they are not much addicted to this neither. Their Cloaths consist of Sturgeon and other Fish Skins : They use neither Linnen nor Wool-len ; their Shoes and Stockings are fastened together, and they wear a short Coat with a Cape and Hood, which in Case of Rain they pull over their Heads. Their Shoes are also made of Fish Skins, and are sewed fast to their Stockings, but not closely ; so that their Feet must necessarily be always wet. When they are upon the Water, notwithstanding the Thinness of their Cloathing, they will bear extraordinary great Cold ; for if it be but a common Winter, they are no better clad than has been mentioned ; but if the Winter proves hard, those who are thus clad, are compelled to put another Coat of the same Sort of Fish Skins over that ; and they express this severe Weather amongst one another, by saying, *Do you like the Winter that forces one to wear two Coats of Skins ?* They sometimes go a hunting in the Winter with a single Coat only, and their Breasts bare, depending upon warming themselves quickly with sliding and running over the Ice in their Schaits or sliding Shoes ;

but if, as it several Times happens, they are overtaken by an extraordinary fierce Frost, and it seems utterly improbable to escape it, or save their Lives, they with the utmost Haste throw off their Fish Skin Coat, fling themselves into the deep Snow, and voluntarily freeze to Death: The Reason why they pull off their Coat is, only that they may die the sooner, and with less Pain.

The Women's Cloaths are almost like the Men's. The Men's greatest Diversion is Bear-hunting, to which Sport they gather together in Crowds, armed with no other Weapon than a sharp Iron, like a large Knife, fixed to a Stick about a Fathom long. As soon as they have put up a Bear, they run at him with these short Spears, and having killed him, they cut off his Head, stick it upon a Tree, run round it, and pay the profoundest Respect to it: After which, they run to the dead Body with repeated Cries, asking the Bear, *Who killed you? The Russians*, they answer themselves: *Who cut off your Head? A Russian Ax: Who cut up your Belly? A Knife which a Russian made*; and more such-like Questions. In a Word, the *Russians* bear all the Blame, and they are entirely innocent of the Murder of the Bear.

They have a Sort of Petty Princes amongst them, one of which is called *Kneska*, or Prince *Kurza Muganak*, whose Authority extends over some hundreds of Huts; and he lays on and collects the Tribute which they are obliged to pay to the *Waiwodes* of his *Czariss* Majesty. This Potentate came with all his Princely Family and Servants on board me, paid his Compliments, and brought me a Parcel of fresh Fish as a Present; which I requited, by presenting him with some Brandy and Tobacco, with which he went on Shore very well contented; but returned immediately, and invited me to his Princely Palace. I being very curious to see this great Lord in his sumptuous Place of Residence, went thither, though I had no great Appetite to his Entertainment. Coming on Shore, the introductory Ceremonies were not very particular: He acted the Master of the Ceremonies himself, and without much Solemnity brought me to his magnificent Apartment; which, like the other

Huts

Huts of the *Ostjacks*, was composed only of Barks of Trees, slightly sewed together. I found here four of his Wives, two old and two young ; one of the young ones had a red Cloth Coat on, and was set off with all Sorts of Glass Corals about her Neck and her Middle, and in the Curls of her Hair, which hung down on both Sides of her Head in two Rows ; she had also in her Ears great Thread-wrought Rings, with long Strings of Coral hanging at them. Each of these Princesses presented me with a Barrel made of Birch Bark, sewed together, and full of dry Fish ; but the youngest gave me a Barrel of Sturgeon Fat, which was as yellow as Gold. After I had received these Presents, I caused them to be treated with Brandy and Tobacco, which is a great Delicacy amongst them. In this whole Princely Building, I saw no other Furniture than some Cradles and Chests, made of Barks of Trees sewed together, in which the Bed-Cloaths lay, being of planed Wood Shavings, which yet were almost as soft as Feathers. These Cradles stand at one End of the Hut, to avoid the Fire which is kindled in the Middle, and the Children lie naked in them. I also saw a Copper Kettle there, and some other Kettles composed of Barks of Trees sewed together, in which they boil their Victuals on the live Coals or Embers, for in the Flame they cannot do it.

To smoke Tobacco, (to which all, both Men and Women, are very much addicted) instead of Pipes they use a Stone Kettle, in which they stick a Pipe made for that Purpose, and at two or three Drawings, (after they have taken some Water in their Mouths,) can suck out a whole Pipe ; and they swallow the Smoke, after which they fall down and lie insensible, like dead Men, with distorted Eyes, both Hands and Feet trembling for about half an Hour : They foam at the Mouth so, that they fall into a Sort of Epilepsy, and we could not observe where the Smoke vented itself : And in this Manner several of them are lost ; for as they are upon the Water travelling, or sitting by the Fire, some of these violent Smokers fall into the Water and are drowned, or into the Fire and are burned ; but some, after they have sucked in the Smoke, let it out at their Throats again ;

again ; and these are in a better Condition than the other, though some weaker Constitutions are sometimes suffocated even thus with the Smoke, which they let down into their Bodies.

It is further observable, that they are very angry, if any of their Relations, though long dead, are named or mentioned. They are utterly unacquainted with all Things before their own Life-time, and do not pretend to give any Relation of them ; nor can they either write or read ; and though they are very fond of Bread when they meet with it, they never trouble themselves with the Tillage of Land, or Culture of Gardens.

They have neither Temples nor Priests. Their Shipping or Boats, on the Outside, are Barks of Trees sewed together, and the Inside Ribs of very thin Wood ; these are two or three Fathom long, and but an Ell broad, and yet they can secure themselves in them in great Storms till they get on Shore.

In Winter Time these *Ostiacks* live entirely under Ground, there being no other Entrance to their Caves, but a Hole left open on the Surface of the Earth, to let out the Smoke : If, as is frequent, a great Snow falls, it happens that (as according to their Custom, they lie asleep naked round the Fire) Part of their Body which lies a little Distance from the Fire, is covered two or three Fingers thick with Snow ; when they perceive themselves cold, they turn about to the Fire, and bestow the best Place on the cold Part of their Body a little while, and so take no more Notice of it, being a very hardy People in Respect to the Variation of the Weather.

When an *Ostiack* is jealous of one of his Wives lying with another Man, he cuts some Hair from the under Part of a Bear's Skin, which he carries to the Man whom he suspects : If he is innocent, he then accepts it, but if he is guilty, they believe he dare not venture to touch it, but must acknowledge the Truth, and then amicably makes up the Business with the Husband, and the Wife is sold ; for if any should presume to be so rash as to take the Hair, though he was guilty, they tell us they are assured that the

Bear's

Bear's Skin from whence that Hair was cut off, will again become a living Bear, which, after the Expiration of three Years, will appear in the Wood, and tear the perjured Wretch to Pieces. On this Occasion they invoke Bows, Arrows, Axes, and Knives, and firmly believe that if the guilty Person takes any of these, he shall certainly be killed by those individual Instruments which he accepts, within the Space of a few Days; which is not only averred by themselves, but unanimously vouched also by the *Russians* who live in the Neighbourhood of these Parts. But enough of these *Ostiacks*. The Shore of the River *Oby*, on which they live, is all untilld Land from the Sea to the River *Tom*, by Reason of the extream Cold; so that no Corn, Fruit, or Honey, is here produced.

After having pass'd some Weeks on the River *Oby* amongst the barbarous *Ostiacks*, we went by the City of *Keetskoy*, situate on the River *Keta*, which falls North-West into the *Oby*. On the 28th following I pass'd by the Cloister of St *George*, and the 3d of *October* I went by the Village of *Worozeikin*; and on the same Day died *John George Weltzel*, a Painter, one of my Retinue, who was born at *Sleswick*, after he had kept his Bed fourteen Days on Account of a Swelling just above his Heart, which was aggravated by a Fever.

On the 7th of *October*, I safely arrived at the Village *Makoffkoi*, and there caus'd *Weltzel's* Corps to be buried on a Hill near the River, in the Middle of the Village. I must own that this Voyage upon the River *Keta* was more irksome and melancholy than all the whole Way before: We were obliged to labour for five Weeks against the Stream, without seeing so much as any Man, besides now and then an *Ostiack* that appeared, and immediately hid himself in the Woods. This Sort of *Ostiacks* speak a different Language from those on the *Oby*; but their Idolatry is the same.

In this tedious uneasy Passage, I was expos'd to much Care and Anxiety; for our Provisions, and especially the Meal, grew very low, by Reason I had not recruited otherwise than with Fish since my Departure from *Tebolska*, and
had

had been too charitable to the *Ostiacks* on board our Ship, who, when we found it requisite, were obliged to tow us along with a Line ; by which continual Fatigue, they were become so weak, that we were obliged to keep a continual Watch over them, to prevent their Desertion.

Notwithstanding all this Care, no Day passed in which some did not run away : And at last the Coldness of the Season, and their perpetual Labour, rendered them unserviceable ; and if I had not before-hand written to the Governor of *Jenizefskoy* for Men to assist me, which he dispatched away to meet me, with the first Opportunity, I and my Retinue had been probably lost ; for not being within thirty Miles of the Village when the Assistance came, we had been certainly frozen up in the River, and had perished by Famine, and the deep Snows which fall there ; for this River is utterly unnavigable in Winter.

I was scarce got from *Makoffskoi*, before the River froze up. Here are great Quantities of Woodcocks, Pheasants, Partridges, and other wild Fowl ; and it was a very diverting Sight to see great Flocks of Woodcocks and Pheasants come to the Brink of the River to drink, which gave us an Opportunity of shooting as many as we pleased in our Passage ; and when our Provisions grew scarce, afforded us no small Assistance. Here grow also Strawberries, black and red Currans, and Blackberries ; but the River doth not yield great Quantities of Fish.

Amongst the Hills which are situate North-East of, and not far from hence, the *Mammuts* Tongues and Legs are found, as they are also particularly on the Shores of the Rivers *Jenize*, *Trugan*, *Mongamsea*, *Lena*, and near *Jakutskoi*, even as far as the *Frozen Sea*. In the Spring, when the Ice of this River breaks, it is driven in such vast Quantities, and with such Force by the high swollen Waters, that it frequently carries very high Banks before it, and breaks off the Tops of Hills ; which falling down, discover these Animals whole, or their Teeth only, almost frozen to the Earth, which thaw by Degrees. I had a Person with me, who had annually gone out in Search of these Bones ; he told it to me as a real Truth, that he and his Companions found

found the Head of one of these Animals, which was discovered by the Fall of such a frozen Piece of Earth. As soon as he opened it; he found the greatest Part of the Flesh rotten; but it was not without Difficulty that they broke out the Teeth, which were placed in the fore Part of his Mouth, as those of the Elephants are: They also took some Bones out of his Head, and afterwards came to his fore Foot, which they cut off, and carried Part of it to the City of *Trugan*, the Circumference of it being as large as that of the Waist of an ordinary Man. The Bones of the Head appeared somewhat red, as though they were tinctured with Blood.

Concerning this Animal, there are very different Reports. The Heathens of *Jakuti*, *Tungusi*, and *Ostiacki*, say that they continually, or at least (by Reason of the very hard Frosts) mostly live under Ground, where they go backwards and forwards: To confirm which, they tell us, that they have often seen the Earth heaved up, when one of these Beasts was upon the March, and after he was passed, the Place sink in, and thereby make a deep Pit. They further believe, that if this Animal comes so near to the Surface of the frozen Earth as to smell the Air, he immediately dies which they say is the Reason that several of them are found dead on the high Banks of the River, where they unawares come out of the Ground.

This is the Opinion of the Infidels, concerning these Beasts, which are never seen. But the old *Siberian Russians* affirm, that the *Mammuth* is very like the Elephant, with this Difference only, that the Teeth of the former are firmer, and not so straight as those of the latter. They also are of Opinion, that there were Elephants in this Country before the Deluge, when this Climate was warmer, and that their drowned Bodies floating on the Surface of the Water of that Flood, were at last washed and forced into subterraneous Cavities; but that after this universal Deluge, the Air which was before warm, was changed to Cold, and that these Bones have lain frozen in the Earth ever since, and so are preserved from Putrefaction till they thaw, and come to Light; which is no unreasonable Conjecture. Though

it is not absolutely necessary that this Climate should have been warmer before the Flood, since the Carcases of the drowned Elephants were very likely to float from other Places several hundred Miles distant, to this Country, in the great Deluge which covered the Surface of the whole Earth. Some of these Teeth (which doubtless have lain the whole Summer on the Shore) are entirely black and broken, and can never be restored to their former Condition; but those which are found in good Case, are as good as Ivory, and are accordingly transported to all Parts of *Muscovy*, where they are used to make Combs, and all other such-like Things, instead of Ivory.

The above-mentioned Person also told me, that he once found two Teeth in one Head, that weighed above twelve *Russian* Pounds, which amount to four hundred *German* Pounds; so that these Animals must of Necessity be very large, though a great many lesser Teeth are found. By all that I could gather from the Heathens, no Person ever saw one of these Beasts alive, or can give any Account of its Shape; so that all we hear said on this Subject, arises from bare Conjecture only.

But to return to my Travels, in which I durst not venture to proceed any further by Water, but was obliged to go by Land from the before-mentioned Village of *Makofskoy*. After I had advanced sixteen Miles, on the twelfth of *October* I safely arrived at the City of *Jenizeskoy*, where I rested for some Time, being obliged to wait till the Roads were sufficiently frozen to be passable with Sleds.

The City of *Jenizeskoy* is large and populous, and the Fortrefs indifferently strong. Several Villages and Cloisters extend themselves for the Space of some Miles round the City; and the Land is very proper for Agriculture. Corn, Flesh, Cattle, and wild horned Beasts, and Fowl, are very plentiful here. Subject to the Jurisdiction of this City, are several *Tunguzian* Heathens, who mostly live on the *Jenizea*, *Tunguskay*, and the Inland neighbouring Country. These pay a Tribute of Furs to the Czar for every Bow, taking that to be a Man and Woman reckoned together. No large Fruit-Trees grow here, by Reason of the extrem

Cold,

Cold, and the only Fruits are black and red Currans, Strawberries, Gooseberries, and such-like.

After a long Stay at this Place for the Sake of Refreshment, I set forwards in a Slead, and on the 20th of *January* reached the Island of *Ribnøy*, which signifies *Fish Island*. This Isle is situate in the Midst of the River *Tanguska*, which is plentifully stored with Fish: Here are Sturgeon, Jacks, and Roach, of an extraordinary Size.

Some Days Journey from hence, is the great rocky Waterfall, called *Schaman Schamanskoy*, or the *Negromantick Fall*, because of a famous *Schaman* or *Tungusian* Conjuror who lives there. This Waterfall is a Descent of half a Mile long. Its Shore is covered with high Rocks, so that the whole Ground of this Water is pure Stone, which indeed affords a hideous Prospect, and makes such a dismal loud Noise, that its rapid Course over both visible and invisible Rocks, may in still Weather be heard at the Distance of above three *German* Miles. The *Dofchanicks*, or Ships, which are obliged to come up it against the Stream, require five, six, or seven Days, though empty, to tow up this dangerous Water, by casting of Anchors and the Help of several Men; nay, farther in some shallow Places, where the Water is very low, and the Rocks lie high, they are oblig'd to tow a whole Day before they can get forwards so much as a Ship's Length, and the Ship frequently stands an End on the Stem; a Thing almost incredible, except to Eye-Witnesses.

The Ships which pass up and down, are always unladed, and their Cargoes carried by Land, till they get past this dangerous Place, when they are again loaded. I have myself seen the Ships which sailed down this Torrent, perform it in twelve Minutes, so prodigious rapid is this Descent: And there are very few, either *Russians* or *Tunguzians*, that know how to bring down the Ships, which must be provided with a Rudder fore and aft, and Rowers on both Sides: The Pilots give their Orders very dexterously to the Rowers by a Handkerchief; for no Voice can be heard, by Reason of the Noise of the Water. The Ships are also close shut every where, that the Waves which frequently fly

over them, may not find Entrance into, and consequently sink them. Several Ships, notwithstanding these Precautions, are cast away here every Year, especially when unexperienced Pilots undertake the bringing them down, being very often shattered to Pieces against the hidden Rocks; and the Men are in such Cases inevitably lost, and immediately stifled by the rapid Stream, or dashed to Pieces by the Rocks; wherefore their Bodies are very rarely found, and the Shores are full of Crosses, erected in Remembrance of those drowned there. In the Winter Season the Water of this River is so high, that it stands almost level with the Flood, and it hath been so overflowed from the Icy Sea, that several have passed over it with Ice Sleads; but in the Summer the Water is very low, as we have already hinted.

Some Miles from hence live several *Tunguzians*; amongst others, their famed *Schaman*, or *Diabolical Artist*. The Reports which passed concerning this Cheat, made me very desirous to see him; wherefore, in order to gratify my Curiosity, I went to those Parts, to visit him and his Habitation. I found him a tall old Man, who had twelve Wives, and one who was not at all ashamed of the Art he pretended to: He shewed me his conjuring Habit, and the other Tools which he used. First I saw his Coat, made of join'd Iron-Work, consisting of all Manner of Representations of Birds, Fishes, Ravens, Owls, &c. besides several Beasts and Birds Claws, and Bills, Saws, Hammers, Knives, Sabres, and the Images of several Beasts, &c. so that all the Parts of this Diabolical Robe being fixed together by Joints, might at Pleasure be taken to Pieces: He had also Iron Stockings for his Feet and Legs, suitable to his Robe, and two great Bears Claws over his Hands: His Head was likewise adorned with such-like Images, and two Iron Bucks-Horns were fixed to his Forehead. When he designs to conjure, he takes a Drum made after their Fashion in his Left Hand, and a flat Staff covered with the Skins of Mountain Mice in his Right Hand: Thus equipped, he jumps cross legg'd, which Motion shakes all these Iron Plates, and makes a great Rattle; besides which, he at the same Time beats his Drum, and with Eyes distorted upwards and a strong bearish Voice,

Voice, makes a dismal Noise. These were the Prologues ; but his Conjurations were performed in the following Manner :

If the *Tunguzians* have any Thing at any Time stole from them, or desire to be informed of any Thing, in the first Place he must be paid before-hand ; after which, he plays such Tricks as are already related, jumps and roars till a Blackbird comes and sits on the Top of his Hut, which is open above, to let out the Smoke : As soon as he gets Sight of the Bird, he falls into a Swoon, and the Bird vanishes immediately : After he hath remained bereft of his Senses for about a Quarter of an Hour, he comes to himself, and tells the Enquirer who hath robbed him, or answers his Questions of what Sort soever ; and they tell us, that all he says proves true. His Robe was so heavy, that I could scarce lift it with one Hand. This Conjuror had a great Quantity of Cattle, which Crowds of People that flock to him from very distant Places, had presented him with, they always giving him his full Demands.

These Heathens are called *Nisovian Tunguzians* : They are tall and strong Men, and have long black Hair ; which being bound up in the Shape of a Horse's Tail, hangs upon their Backs : They are broad-fac'd, but their Noses are not so flat, nor their Eyes so small, as the *Calmackians*. Both Men and Women go naked in the Summer, except only a Leather Girdle of three Hands Breadth, that they mostly cut in the Shape of Ribbands, which they wear about their Waist, and cover their Privities : But the Women adorn their Hair with Coral and Iron Figures. Both Men and Women carry a Pot on their Left Arms, continually furnished with old smoking Wood, which preserves them from the Biting of the *Moschitoes*, or *Gnats* ; with which the Country along the River *Tungusky*, and the Woods, are so abundantly pestered, that if not only the Face, but the Hands and Legs are uncovered, their Biting becomes insupportable ; which, however, the Natives do not feel so much as Strangers, because their Skin being all over bitten by them, becomes thereby hardened. These People are Admirers of Beauty, according to their Notion of it : To im-
prove

improve which, they adorn their Foreheads, Cheeks and Chins, in the following Manner : They with a Needle run Threads greased with black Grease through the Skin, in Representation of several Figures, and leave the said Threads therein for several Days ; after which they draw them out, and leave their Traces behind them, and very few of them are without this Embellishment.

Their Winter Habit is a Coat made of Doe Skins, which is bordered at the Extremities with Dog Skins ; besides which, they have also a Breast-piece hung with Tails of Horse Hair. They are wholly unacquainted with either Linnen or Woollen Cloaths ; but to supply their Necessities, they make Nets and sowing Thread of Fish Skins. Instead of Caps on their Heads, they wear a Roebuck's Skin, with the Horns sticking up on the Crown of their Heads, especially when they go a Buck-hunting ; by which Means they easily deceive their Game, which they creep close to in the Grass, and the unwary Animals mistaking them for their own Species, void of Fear, never remove their Station, whilst they having their Bow and Arrow ready, and being got so near, are sure to shoot him down. When they are inclined to divert themselves together, they form themselves into a Ring, and one of them stands in the Middle, having a long Staff in his Hand ; with which, in turning round, he strikes at the Legs of any one of the Company, who so nimbly lifts them up, and so dexterously avoids the Blow, that it is very seldom that any of them are hit ; but if any one is touched, he is ducked till he is all over wet.

They lay their Dead upon the Trees, and after they are rotten, their Bones are buried in the Earth.

They have no other Priests but their Conjurers. They have in their Huts carved wooden Idols, about half an Ell long, with the Representation of Human Faces, which they feed as the *Ostiacks* do, with their best Sort of Food, which runs out of their Mouths over their Bodies. Their Huts are hung round with Horses Mains, Tails, and other Baubles, and are made of Birch Bark ; before which they hang their Bows and Quivers, and very few of them are found without
several

several young dead Dogs hanging near them. Their Boats or Canoes are made of Birch Bark sewed together, which notwithstanding will carry seven or eight Persons ; they are long, slender, and without any Benches ; they sit in them upon their Knees, and make Use of a Sort of Oars broad at both Ends, which they hold in the Middle, and row or paddle, first with the one, then with the other End ; and when they row all together, the Boat goes at a great Rate. With these slight Canoes they can bear up against violent Storms without any Danger. They generally subsist themselves in Summer by fishing, and in Winter by hunting all Sorts of furred Game, Bucks, Does, &c.

I left these People without any other Occurrence remarkable, and arrived on the first of *February* at the Fort *Buratz* ; which Place, and all along to the Lake *Baikal*, is watered by the River *Angara*, and inhabited by the *Burattians*, a *Pagan* People.

Both the Men and Women of this Country are robust, large, and according as Beauty goes here, have handsome Faces, being a little like the *Chinese Tartars*. In the Winter both Sexes wear long Coats made of Sheep Skins, with a broad Girdle tipped with Iron. They have a Sort of Caps that they call *Malachaves*, which they can draw over their Ears in cold Weather. In Summer several of them wear Coats of slight red Cloth. Comparatively speaking, their Faces and their Bodies look like young Devils, by Reason that they know, or at least practise nothing of washing at any other Time than when they are born, nor ever cut the Nails of either their Hands or their Feet.

The Virgins whole Head of Hair sticking fast together in Plaits, stands on End, and makes them look just as Envy is represented by the Painters. The Women have only two Plaits which hang down on each Side of their Heads, adorned with all Sorts of Tin Figures. When any of them die, they are buried with their best adorned Cloaths, Bows and Arrows. Their Religion consists in the worshipping dead Bucks and Sheep, which are spitted upon the Poles before their Doors, at several Times in the Year, as long as they continue unputrified. Their Adoration of them is performed

performed by bowing the Head, whilst they sit on their Knees with clasped Hands, without either Prayers or so much as speaking one Word. This is the only Divine Service that they are acquainted with ; nor will they ever hear of any other : They have indeed several Priests ; which, when they think fit, they kill first, and afterwards bury them, together with their Cloaths and Money, alledging, that it is necessary to send them before to pray for them, and that lest they should be driven to Necessity, they ought to have Money to spend, and Cloaths to wear.

In this Neighbourhood Musk Cats are also found, which are shaped more like a Goat. This Animal is almost like a young Buck, without Horns, with this Difference, that its Hair is a little black, and the Head inclines more towards that of a Wolf. The Musk is contained in a certain Swelling at the Navel, like a little Purse, which is composed of a thin Skin, covered with a very fine Hair. The *Chinese* call this Animal *Yebiam*, which is *Musk Hart*, by Reason of its Likeness to a Stag ; but besides the Dissimilitude of the Head, it hath also two Tusks like those of a wild Boar, which stick out of its Mouth.

Philip Martinus, in his *Chinese Atlas*, gives us the following Description, which may contribute to the Satisfaction of the curious Reader : “ The Musk Cat (saith he) is almost
 “ like a young Hart or Doe, only that he is somewhat
 “ browner, and so slow and inactive, that the Hunter’s
 “ greatest Difficulty is to put him up ; for that once done,
 “ he is immediately shot, for he suffereth himself tamely to
 “ be killed, without either defending himself or stirring :
 “ The Musk (of which there are various Sorts of different
 “ Value) is prepared from this Beast in the following
 “ Manner :

“ After he is taken, all his Blood is drawn off and reserved ; and from under his Navel is taken off a Bladder that is filled with Blood, or some other odoriferous
 “ Liquor there concreted ; after which the Animal is
 “ flea’d and cut to Pieces.

“ When the *Chinese* design to make the best Sort, they
 “ take the hinder Part of the Animal, beginning from the
 “ Kidneys,

“ Kidneys, which they stamp and bruise to a Jelly, which
“ they dry, and therewith fill the small Bags, which they
“ make of the Skin of the Beast. But if they desire a
“ slighter Sort of Musk, which should yet be very good;
“ and not at all sophisticated, then they beat all the Parts
“ of the Animal together, without any Distinction, to a
“ Jelly, with a little of his Blood, in a Mortar; with
“ which, as before, they fill up the Bags made of the
“ Hide:

“ Besides these two, there is another Sort of Musk,
“ which is also highly valued, though not so good as the
“ precedent. This is prepared from the fore Part of the
“ Animal to the Kidneys, which they particularly lay by
“ the rest of his Body, in order to make the common
“ Musk; so that none of this Creature is thrown away,
“ but all Parts of it are good; whence it is said to be bet-
“ ter dead than alive.” Thus far *Martinius*; but whe-
ther these Barbarians make the same Use of the Musk Cat
as the *Chinese*, is not certainly known.

After travelling some Days amongst this Nation, I ar-
rived at *Jekutskoi*, a City situate on the River *Angara*; and
after a short Stay here to rest myself, on the first of *March*
I set forward by Land in Sleads; to the Lake or Meer of
Baikol, which I reached on the tenth of the same Month,
and found it frozen up very hard.

I passed over this Lake, and safely arrived at *Kabania*.
This Lake is about six *German* Miles broad, and forty long:
The Ice in it was full two Ells thick, and it is very dangerous
when the Passengers are overtaken by a great Snow, or a
high Wind; and the Horses which draw the Sleads must
be very sharp shod, by Reason the Ice is all over very slip-
pery; and even on Land here is no Snow found to lie, but
it is immediately driven away by the Wind. Here are fe-
veral broken Places, or Wind-Holes, that are not frozen
up, which prove very dangerous to Travellers, when sur-
prized with tempestuous Winds; for the Horses, if not
sharp shod, by the Fury of the Winds are driven on so
violently, that they cannot tread sure, but sliding and falling
on the slippery Ice, are hurried on by the Wind, till they

and the Sled too are swallowed up in one of these open Places ; by which several Men and Horses are lost : Besides, to augment the Danger, the Ice of this Lake is sometimes torn open several Fathoms by sudden Winds, which make a Noise as loud and terrible as Thunder-Claps ; but after the Expiration of a few Hours, the Ice joins again, and becomes quickly as close as before.

On the twenty-ninth of *April* I had the good Fortune to put an End to my Travels in this uncouth, uninhabited Road, and to reach the Fortrefs of *Jarauna*. The Castle of *Jarauna* is garrisoned by *Cossacks* and also inhabited by several *Russians*, who depend upon Sable hunting. The Heathens which possess this Country are called *Konni Tunguzi*, being a Sort of *Tunguzians*, which live along the Banks of the River *Angara* ; though their Language is entirely different from all others. If any one of them dies, he is buried with his Cloaths and Bows under Ground ; upon his Grave, Stones are laid, and a Pole erected, to which is fastened his best Horse, being first shot to Death. They live entirely on Sable-hunting, and the Furrs of these Animals are extraordinary black in this Place.

Lodging here one Night, a *Tunguzian* Knezets, or Prince, whose Name was *Liliulka*, came to visit me ; he had prodigious long Hair, which for that Reason he bound up in a Leather Band, and wound three Times round his Shoulders. I was very curious to satisfy myself whether his Hair was really so long as I was told ; to which Purpose I caused him to be intoxicated with Brandy, by which Civility I obtained the Favour of having his Hair loosened, and I found it to be all his natural Hair only, for I examined it very narrowly ; and measuring it with an Ell, to my great Surprise, was convinced that it was four *Dutch* Ells long. He had a Son of six Years of Age, whose Hair growing in Imitation of his Father's, hung down over his Back the Length of an Ell, wanting an eighth Part. This Sort of *Tunguzian* Heathens live on the Hills in great Multitudes. Part of them grow rich by catching the most fine and beautiful Sables, for which they receive great Sums of Money.

Departing

Departing from hence, we arrived on the twentieth of May, through Divine Mercy, without being once attacked, at *Nerzinskoy*, which lies on the River *Nerza*, that runs from North-North-East, and about a Quarter of a Mile from the City falls Southward into the *Schilka*. This City is tolerably strong, provided with several Brass Guns, and a great Garrison of *Daurian Cossacks*, both Horse and Foot.

Here are vast Quantities of red, and also of Snow white Paeonies, which diffuse an extraordinary fragrant Scent, and several other Flowers, with which I was unacquainted. Here are Rosemary, Thyme, Marjoram, Lavender, and several other odoriferous Plants unknown to me, which grow spontaneously in great Abundance: The Fruits here are only red and black Currans, &c. agreeable to the Climate.

Here are two Sorts of Heathens, who all live in Huts, called in their Language *Jurten*, the Inside of which is composed of wooden Poles jointed together; so that whenever they are willing to remove their Dwellings, as they frequently do, they may conveniently pack them up, and carry them all together.

This wooden Work, when set up, is thatched all over with Hair and Rubbish, except only the Smoke-Hole left open at Top. They place their Fire in the Midst of their Huts, and sit round it upon Turffs. Their Religion is the same with that of the *Daorn* or *Daurians*, from whence they pretend to be descended: So that indeed, throughout all *Great Tartary*, to the Beginning of the *Mongolian Tartars*, there is a very great Similitude in Religion.

Both Men and Women in this Country are very strong, and broad faced; and both Sexes, not excepting the young Girls, ride on Horseback, and are equally armed with Bows and Arrows, in the Use of which they are very expert. The Female Dress is the same with the Male. Their common Drink is Water; but the better Sort drink *Kara't Ka*, or Black Tea, which is a particular Species of that Plant, the Infusion of which, instead of greenish, tinctures the Water blackish: They boil it in Mare's Milk and Water, to which they also add a little Lard or Butter. They also

draw off a Sort of Brandy from Mare's Milk, which they call *Kunnen*, or *Arak*, and is distilled in the following Manner : The new Milk is first boiled, then put into a Fat, to which is added some stale Milk, and this Mixture is stirred every Hour : After which this soured Milk is put into a Pot, and closely covered with another Pot which shuts tight upon it, into which a Reed is stuck, and the Pot firmly luted, and set over the Fire to distill as in *Europe* : But the Spirit must be twice drawn off ; then it is fit to drink, being as clear and strong as Malt Spirits, and very soon intoxicates. It is really very surprizing that none of the Cows in *Siberia* and *Dauria* as long as their Calves suck them, will ever permit themselves to be milked ; nor will they, after the Calf is removed from them, give any more Milk : Which is the Reason why Mare's Milk is so much used by these People, which is also richer and more agreeable than Cow's Milk.

In Spring and Autumn these Heathens go a hunting, like the *Burattians*, in order to provide themselves against Summer and Winter with sufficient Store of Flesh ; which they also, as well as that Nation, dry in the Sun. Instead of Bread, they gather the Pods of yellow Lillies, which they call *Sarana*, and having dried and beaten them to Meal, they dress them several Ways to eat. They are very expert at shooting Fish in the Water with a Sort of Arrows, which are round, solid, and about three Fingers thick at the Head ; at the End of which, under the Iron Point, is a Ball of Bone bored through, which occasions a loud whistling Noise in its Flight. These Arrows are so heavy, that they do not shoot them farther at most than fifteen or twenty Fathom, and chiefly at large Fish, as Jacks and Trout, which harbour in clear Water on the rocky Ground near the Shores. And when these Arrows hit, they make a surprizing large Orifice, which looks as if it were a Cut given by a Hatchet. The most solemn Oaths among these People, is killing a Dog and drinking his Blood.

On the twelfth of *August* we reached the River *Terbu*, which is also but small and shallow, and likewise falls Westward into *Argun*. On the next Day we came to the River

Gan,

Gan, which occasioned us a very troublesome Passage, it being so deep by Reason of the swollen Waters, that no Camel could reach the Bottom; so that we were forced to search for Trees in this desolate uninhabited Wilderness, where no other Hope was left; which having felled, we bound in Couples, to carry over our Goods and travelling Provisions: And for our own Passage we also made a Sort of Boats of small Twigs, which we covered with Ox-Hides sewed together, which proved tolerable Barks, and would carry about a thousand Pounds Weight. The Horses, Oxen and Camels, swam over, which indeed the last did very easily; for as soon as they lose Footing on the Ground, they turn themselves on one Side, without stirring their Feet, like a floating Leather Bag, no more Care being necessary than to bind five or six of them fast together by the Bridles and Tails, and let some Body swim a Horse before them, which is fastened to the Bridle of the first, and consequently tows him along; without which Precaution they would drive several Miles down the Stream before they got over; and even notwithstanding this, they drove considerably downwards. This tedious uneasy Passage cost us some Days Time, the River being broad, and the Tide rapid and strong.

Breaking up from thence on the 19th of the same Month, on the 21st we reached the River *Mergeen*. On the 23d we came to another River called *Kailar*, the Water of which being low, we passed it without any Trouble.

On the first of *September* I came to the *Jalischian* Mountains, lodged there, and found my Post-Messenger (who was a *Russian* Gentleman that I had dispatched to *Xixigar*) was returned, and arrived here before me, and had already waited some Days for me. He was accompanied with a *Chinese* Captain and ten Men, which were sent to meet me. When I ordered him to be brought to me, he complimented me from his Lords, who had expressly sent him to meet me, and in their Name presented me with some necessary Refreshments, as fifteen Sheep, some Tea, Loaf-Sugar, and twenty Horses for my Use; which I thankfully accepted, and in Return made the Captain several Presents.

From

From the River *Kailar* to these Mountains we travelled through steep Rocks and high Hills, with which the Valleys which we passed through, were encompassed on both Sides. There are also a few small Thickets scattered up and down, except which, the whole Way is void of all Trees or Woods, which sometimes gave us the Trouble of carrying the Wood which we wanted for our Kitchen, from one Lodging-Place to another.

These Valleys are wholly covered with fine Grass, as the Mountains are stocked with all Sorts of Herbs and Flowers; besides which, this Country plentifully abounds with large Harts, Roebucks, and wild Sheep, which frequently appear in great Herds of many Hundreds together: Here are also large Flocks of wild Geese, Ducks, wild Turkeys, and Partridges.

On the fifth of *September* we got Sight of the first *Targazinian* Huts, and the next Day we passed by the last of them. The *Targazinians* are a separate independent Hord or Clan, which are obliged to pay Tribute to the Emperor of *China*: They are governed by their own Chief, but obey those who are most potent in *Tartary*. They are an Infidel Heathen Nation, and are said to worship the Devil. Their Cattle are chiefly Horses, Camels, Bulls, Cows and Sheep; the last of which are very fine and large, the Tail being a large Span thick, and two Spans long, all of which is Fat; and they are so very heavy, that they cannot go fast, much less run. These People ride very commonly upon Oxen, and are very expert Archers: They make great Quantities of Bows, which are esteemed the very best in all *Tartary*, and are therefore sold very dear.

We passed by these People on our Journey on the charming Banks of the River *Jalo*, with the utmost Pleasure; but now turned our Eyes from thence downwards towards the South. I cannot help owning, that the Side of this River is perfectly a Paradise, as consisting of beautiful Pasture Grounds, silver Streams, and the pleasantest Woods in the World; and the most delicious Entertainment of the Eye is not a little improved by the Prospect of the rising Ground, and beautiful tow'ring Hills, which offer themselves to our View,

View, at about a Mile and a half Distance on each Side, and are a perfect Warren or Park of wild Game; great Numbers of wild Swine, Harts, and vast Herds of Tygers and Panthers, harbouring under these shady Mountains. Here are Multitudes of wild Ducks, a small Sort of Geese called *Turpani*, adorned with all Sorts of variegated Feathers, like those in *India*, and a particular Sort of extraordinary beautiful Partridges, the Feathers of which are of several Colours, their Tails about an Ell long; which prove very delicate, being in Taste, as well as Size and Shape, like Pheasants.

On the before-mentioned Day, being obliged to leave this charming River, I turned off on the Left from it to the South-East, and spent the eighth, ninth and tenth Days, in travelling betwixt Mountains and Rocks on each Side, where we were afflicted with the Want of Wood and Water, being obliged to content ourselves with what the Pits yielded of the latter, which was of a deep brown Colour, and almost stunk.

Having on the 11th, by the Protection of God, reached the Borders of *China*, I immediately dispatched away a Messenger Post to the *Adaganda*, or *Mandaryn*,* who had been sent from *Pegu* to receive me; and on the twelfth, early in the Morning, I set forwards, having ranged my Retinue in good Order; and was quickly informed by the Return of my Messenger, that the *Mandaryn*, accompanied with eighty Men, would ride from the Town of *Xixigar* to meet me, and was already advanced on his Way.

We approached each other but slowly, and met about a Quarter of a Mile short of the Town, where I was very civilly welcomed by the *Mandaryn*; and after mutual Compliments were passed, we rode forwards together in Order, (making a very good Appearance) till we reached the Town, where a very good House was provided for me, and those of my Retinue were well lodged, suitable to their Characters, as well as the *Cossacks* which I had with me, in the best Houses in the Town.

This Province is situated in a very variable, and withal unwholesome Climate. About Noon generally rises a high Wind,

* *Mandaryn* is the Title which the *Chinese* give to Governors of Cities, and all Officers of State.

Wind, that continues about two Hours ; but otherwise the Sky is very seldom overcast, so that the Sun continues to shine very hot almost always ; by Means of which, and the constant Wind, the Earth is so dried, and driven upwards, that the subtile white Dust is scarce supportable. I was very particular in my Observation of the Alteration of the Air, when I came from betwixt the Hills. About five Miles from *Xixigar*, I perceived the Air to be cloudy as far as the Mountains extended, but no farther ; and particularly, where the Hills ended, the Air was clearly and visibly separated by a windy Arch, from the West to the East, towards the *Albanian* Mountains ; a very extraordinary Phænomenon, which I assert as an Eye-Witness.

As for what happened to myself, the *Mandaryn*, who was an agreeable well bred Man, very civilly invited me to take a Meal with him, at which I was received with particular Expressions of Kindness, and splendidly treated : The Entertainment was composed of good Soups, savoury Herbs, and roast and bak'd Meats ; all which were followed with a Banquet of Sweet-Meats and *Chinese* Fruit. His Men and Soldiers were all disposed in the best Order, each as perfectly and respectfully knowing and taking his Station as is possible in *Europe*. What alone was very uneasy to me, was, that I was obliged to sit with him on the Tapistry, with my Legs across and under me, which is to Strangers a very troublesome Custom.

On the fifteenth I treated the *Mandaryn* in Return, having caused him to be invited the Day before. I entertained him in the *European* Manner, and put a Glass of good Sack briskly about, causing the Trumpets and other Musick to play ; all which wonderfully pleased this Gentleman, so that he and his Company returned Home pretty mellow, and were mightily satisfied with the *European* Civility.

On the twenty-fifth, the same *Mandaryn* again entertained us, and the following Day dined with me. During which Interval of Time, I caused all necessary Preparations to be made for me and my Retinue, in order to our proceeding on our Journey to *Peking*. I informed the *Mandaryn* that I was ready, who immediately answered very civilly, that
pursuant

purſuant to the Order of his *Amologda Chan*, or King, as many Coachmen or Waggoners as were neceſſary, were prepared to wait on me, if I pleaſed to accept of his Company, and ſet forwards on the 28th Inſtant.

Before I invite the Reader to accompany me in this Journey, I think myſelf obliged in few Words to deſcribe what appeared to me remarkable amongſt the Inhabitants of this Province of *Xixigar*.

About a Quarter of a Mile from this Frontier Town, runs the River *Naun*, on which is ſituate the City of *Naunkoton*, lately built, and encompassed with Earthen Walls, well lined, and covered on the Outſide with maſſy Timber. The Inhabitants of this City, and the fix large Southern Villages ſubordinate to it, are called *Daori*, or *Old Dauri*; and at preſent this Country is called *Dori*, by the *Tartars* which inhabit all along the River *Nauna* and *Jallo* to *Albazin*. Theſe People have very rich manured Lands, and all Sorts of Garden Fruits, and ſeveral Tobacco Plantations; but their Religion is impious and diabolical; for according to their own Report, they are all *Schammans*, or Conjurers, who invoke the Devil. Several Neighbours of both Sexes frequently aſſemble together about Midnight; one of them lies with his Body extended on the Earth, and the By-ſtanders with exalted Voices make a diſmal Howl: Others beat on a Sort of Drums; which ceaſing for a ſmall Interval, the Howl is renewed, and ſometimes laſts for two Hours, until he that lies on the Earth ſeems returned to his Senſes, and after a tedious Howling, riſes up and relates where he hath been, and what he hath ſeen and heard; after which, whatever any of the Company are deſirous to be informed of, concerning future Events, or other Particulars, is propoſed to him: And while I ſtaid there, no Night paſſed without this hideous Howling of theſe diabolical Miſters.

They keep their Dead three Days in their Houſes, then bury their Corpſe in a high-raiſ'd Grave in the Gardens or Fields; after which it is daily viſited by the Relations of the Deceaſed, a Hole being left open at the Head; to which Place they bring the Dead all Sorts of Victuals and

Drink, conveying these Eatables by a Spoon made for that Purpose to the very Mouth of the Deceased, but leave the Drink standing in small Tin Cups round the Grave: This Practice lasts for several Weeks; which ended, they bury the stinking Carcase a good Way deeper in the Earth.

They live in Houses of Clay or Earth, covered with Reeds, or small Bamboes, somewhat like the Peasants thatched Houses in *Europe*. The Walls on the Inside are partly white, being plaistered with Lime. The Middle of the House is furnished with an erected Pillar, about which are wound the Entrails of Beasts, by which hang a little Bow and Arrows, Pikes and other Arms: To all this they sometimes, by bowing and Prostrations, pay an idolatrous Sort of Worship. Their Houses are not partitioned into Chambers, nor have they any Garrets; but almost one half of the House close to the Walls, is taken up all round with a large Bench of an Ell high, and about two Ells broad, covered with red Matts; under these Benches passes a Chimney, through which the Fire is kindled by the Door of the House, and the Smoke goes out at the other Side of it. And this Chimney in Winter serves instead of a Stove, tho' the Habitation is not much warmed by it; but the Inhabitants which sit on this Bench in the Day Time, and lie on it at Night, are indeed somewhat the better for it. There are constantly in these Dwellings two fixed Iron Kettles, in one of which is warm Water to make Tea, and the other is reserved for boiling of Victuals. The House is all round provided with square Windows, which are letticed with Paper instead of Glass, and in warm Weather they are set open with a Stick, to make Way for the cool Breezes to pass through the Apartment.

These People are generally well shaped, but more especially the Women. The Men, Women, and young Girls, wear the same Habit as the *Manssourian Tartars* in *China*. The Secretaries of the *Mandaryns*, which are in the Service of the *Chan*, and are sent hither or to any other Place in *Tartary*, whenever they are inclined to Venereal Pleasures, seize for their own Use as many Wives, as well as young Virgins, as they like, at Pleasure; and I have frequently
seen

seen them carry off the most beautiful Creatures on Wag-gons, as to the Slaughter

Leaving this Frontier Nation on the 28th Instant, and setting forward with the *Mandaryn* from *Xixigar*, by the Evening we reached a Village, where we passed that Night. On the 29th we passed through several Villages and arrived on the other Side of the *Jalo*, where it falls into the *Naunda*.

After four Days travelling, without the Sight of so much as one House, we came to an old ruined City, encompassed with a Quadrangular Mud Wall, about a *German* Mile in its Circumference; and after five Days more travelling over a hilly Country, utterly destitute of Houses, we reached another old desolate City, called *Taiminglingh*, fortified with a square Wall, and Bulwarks: There are in it two Towers or Turrets, one very high and the other less: The largest was an *Obelisk*, the Front of which was built with Brick, and about ten Fathom from the Ground, there was on each of the eight Sides, Stones placed, on which were carved several Histories. Upon some of them are expressed some great Personages or Kings, as big as the Life, sitting with their Feet under them, and Attendants on each Side of them: Others shew us several Figures which seemed to represent Queens folding their Hands together, with their Servants on each Side; the Queens having Crowns on their Heads, and the other being adorned with Rays or Lustres, as Saints are commonly painted, and also folding their Hands: All which seems to hint that this Tower must be built by Christians.

Other Parts of it represented Warriors with Pikes, after the *Chinese* Manner, and the King bare-headed in the Middle, with a Scepter in his Hand, and all the By-standers appearing with hideous diabolical Visages; and the Proportion of all these Images so exactly observed, that they looked like the Works of *European* Masters.

This Turret was perfectly close on all Sides, with no Kind of Ascent without, or Entrance into it. Several large Heaps of Bricks lay in the City, besides a great many Stone Statues as big as the Life, in the Figures of Men and Idols, Grave Stones, great Stone Lions, and Tortoises of an uncommon

Largeness : By all which this seemed to have been a Place where some *Chan* or King had formerly resided.

The *Chinese* relate, that many hundred Years past, *Utai-chan*, or *Un-Chan*, a *Tartarian* King, governed here, but was conquered and driven out of his Country by a *Chinese* King. The City, as near as I could guess, was above a *German* Mile in Circuit.

In several Places amongst the Mountains, we observed Brick Turrets standing, which seemed to be antient Burying Places of the *Tartars*. In these Hills I observed an infinite Variety of known and unknown Plants, extending for the Space of several Miles as thick with Thyme and Marjoram as Grass.

After having travelled four Days further, we came to *Burgan Koton*, or *Idol City*, as it is called, which is likewise utterly laid waste : It takes its Name from being a Place where formerly only the principal Heathen Priests lived. It had a Mud Wall, most of which is at present fallen down. In the Middle of the City is a high octangular Stone Turret, built in the *Chinese* Manner, and hung with several hundreds of small Iron Bells ; which, whenever the Wind rises a little, chime with a Silver Sound, which is very agreeable. There was an Entrance into this Steeple, by which I sent some of our People up, to see what was to be found in it : They informed me, that in several dark Holes they saw many thousands of *Chinese* or Heathen Idols of several Shapes, and that they were very glad they were got back again.

Half a Mile from hence is a *Chinese* Village, mostly inhabited by *Lama*'s, (for where the Corpse is, thither the Eagles flock,) they entertaining all *Tartars* travelling this Way, and instructing them in the dark Errors of their antient Idols. We passed on over sandy and downy Land, on which was a low Hill, with some old Birch-Trees standing on it : This Hillock is, according to their Manner, esteemed sacred by the *Mongolians*, and the neighbouring *Tartars* : And those who travel by it, as a religious Offering in Honour of this Place, in order to obtain a good Journey, hang something of that which they have about their Body here, either Caps, Cloaths, Purfes,

Purfes, Boots, Breeches, Shirts, Switches, &c. upon the Trees, which from the Top to the Bottom are so full charg'd with this Trumpery, that they seem to be Shops; and it is thought very scandalous to remove any of them, for they must hang and rot upon the Principle of their Religion.

After this, we reached a small City called *Kara-Katon*, or *Black City*; which is Quadrangular, and encompassed with Oaken Pallisadoes driven into the Ground, which serve rather to defend it from Tygers and Leopards, than the Enemy; the Land all about being covered with high Rocks, on which grow Thickets of Oaks, and great Quantities of Grass, where Multitudes of those Beasts harbour, as well as wild Swine and Harts.

The Emperor of *China* annually in *August* comes a Tyger-hunting to this Place, accompanied with two or three thousand of the best Archers in *Tartary*, and a Party of Lancers. When the Tygers are to be put up, the Emperor himself goes to the Foot of the Hill along with the Men that attend him, armed with Lances, Bows, and Arrows, who invest the Hill, and beset it very well up to the Top; and when they find the Tygers there, they seeing themselves beset, endeavour by leaping to break through the Croud, but are hunted with Drums and Bells till they come to the Place where the Emperor himself is, who shoots down the Game with Bow and Arrow, without any Hazard of his Person; for if there happen but the least Danger, he is encompassed with so many Men, that they easily defend him from the wild Beast with their Lances. The Emperor passes some Weeks in this Sport; by Intervals putting up also some edible wild Game, as Swine, Harts, Roebucks, Hares, besides Wolves and Foxes.

We observed hereabouts, in the Fields and Trees, a Sort of Birds, in Size and Shape very like a Heron, the Feathers of which are very beautiful, their Neck and Breast being white, their Wings and Tail of a bright Scarlet, their Flesh firm and very good Meat; we saw also another Bird which was as big as a Parrot, his Bill crooked, his Tail a full Ell long, and chequered with all Sorts of fine Colours; but he is so very wild, that he will not suffer any one to come near

near enough to take him: Here are likewise Partridges with long Tails and beautiful variegated Feathers.

Not far from hence we came to a steep Rock, the Ascent of which was very crooked and winding, and was for above two hundred Fathom hewn through by Men, and a Way cut which was seven Fathom broad, probably for the Convenience of Travellers; the other Side of this Rock, by Reason of the deep Morafs, being impassable. We passed hereabouts continually by steep Rocks, furnished with Oaks and Limes, and in the Vales Chestnut and large Nut-Trees, as well as Vines, grew wild.

From hence we went forwards, and came to a very high Rock, sharp-pointed at the Top, and, by Reason of its Steepness, impossible to be climbed: On one Side of which, about half Way up, is an Idol Temple hewn out of the Rock: It hath four Windows, and instead of Idols, we saw four Stone Statues in a sitting Posture. It is not a little to be wondered how it was possible for Men to come there, and perform such a great Piece of Work; the Rock on that Side being so extraordinary steep, that a Mouse cannot get up it. This Temple, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, hath been built several hundred Years.

On the 27th of *October* we reached some Watch-Towers on the Pinacles of the Rocks; from whence we got Sight of the *Zagan Crim*, that is, the great Wall, which we came to on the same Day. This really seems to be one of the Wonders of the World. About five hundred Fathom * from this famous Wall is a Valley, each Side of which was provided with a Battery of hewn Stone, from one of which to the other a Wall about three Fathom high is erected, with an open Entrance. Passing through this fore Wall, we came to the Entry of the great Wall, through a Watch-Tower, about eight Fathom high, arched over with hewn Stone, and provided with maffy Doors, strengthened with Iron: The Wall runs from the East to West across the Valley, and up extraordinary high Rocks, and about five hundred Fathom distant from the other hath on the Rocks on each Side of it a Tower built on it. The Foot of this Wall was of large hewn Quarrey Stone for about a Foot high, and the remaining

* A Fathom is Six Feet.

remaining upper Part was composed of Brick and Lime ; but, as far as we can see, the whole was formerly built with the same Stone. Within this first Port we came into a Plain full one hundred Fathom broad ; after which we came to another Guard-Port, which had a Wall on each Side, and like the first Wall, was carried quite across the Vale : And this, as well as the first Port, was guarded by a Watch of fifty Men. On the first or great Wall stands an Idol Temple, with the Ensigns of the Idol and the Emperor flying on the Top of it. The Wall is full six Fathom high, and four thick, so that six Horsemen may easily ride a-breast on it, and was in as good Repair as if it had not been erected above twenty or thirty Years since ; no Part of it being fallen, nor annoyed by the least Weed or Filth, as other old Walls are observed to be.

After this last Watch-Tower, we came into a Vale about three hundred Fathom over, on which grew some large Willows ; and on the West Side, at the Foot of the Rock, was a magnificent Temple ; a Musket-shot from whence we came to the City of *Galchan*, which is encompassed with a high quadrangular Wall, but is not very populous. Here I was welcomed by the Discharge of three Iron Guns, and continued all Night in the Suburbs. The Streets were so beset with the Concourse of People, that it was difficult to pass them, being drawn together by the Sound of our Trumpets and Bagpipes, which seemed very strange to them, they never having heard any such Musick before. In the Evening the *Mandaryn* sent to compliment me, and invited me to sup with him at the Royal Palace, where the Emperor resides when he passes this Way. Upon my coming thither, besides the *Mandaryn*, I found there the Governor and the greatest Officers of the City ; and after we had drank some Dishes of Tea, I was entertained with a noble Supper, all the Action of a Play, and a Specimen of Musick, after their Fashion, consisting of all Sorts of Kettle Drums and stringed Instruments, which made a hideous confused Noise ; so that I could have rather wished myself at a Distance, than near it. They sate on Stools by Couples, no more than two at each Table. These Tables were
finely

finely japanned, and covered with exquisite Needle-work Silk Carpets. They use no Table-Cloths, Napkins, Knives, Forks or Plates ; but only two small round Sticks of Ivory or Ebony were laid upon the Table, which was its whole Furniture ; but indeed they are so wonderfully expert in the Use of these Sticks, that they can with them take up any Thing, though of the Size of a Pin's Head. They hold them in the Right Hand, betwixt the Thumb and the two fore Fingers. All their Victuals, whether Soups, Rice, stewed or roasted Meats, are brought to Table in *China* Vessels, and not in Dishes : Each Sort of Roast is served up alone, cut into small Pieces ; but the Banquet of Sweetmeats and Fruit was dished up in little *China* Basons. Their Soups and Pottages are extraordinary grateful to the Taste, as being enriched with very delicious Herbs and Spices, as Mace, Cinnamon, &c. The Herb they boil in their Soups grows on Rocks in the Sea, and, being boiled, appears slimy, and when dried is green, as it also looks in the Soups. This Plant hath no Leaves, but grows with interwoven Branches, and is of a very agreeable Taste, and esteemed very wholesome ; some think it to be abortive *Satyrion*, or Bird's-Nest. They also dress stripped Shrimps, and Pidgeons Eggs with the Whites tinged red and yellow : They have besides, fine Salleting, especially Endive cut in small long Slips, being very agreeable both to the Taste and Smell : This they lay uppermost in their former Dish. Their Soups are not to be mended by our *German* Cooks, or perhaps any other.

Instead of Saltfellers, they have small Saucers of Pickle or Brine, into which the Meat is dipped. By Reason they use no Spoons, each Person takes the Cup of Soup set before him, and sips it up ; but that Part which is too gross, he guides to his Mouth with the round Sticks, that nothing may run besides or foul their Cloaths, using no Napkins, though indeed their Handkerchiefs hang by their Sides, with which they only wipe their Mouths.

In the publick Eating-Houses, or Ordinaries, the Carver stands at the Table with the Roast Meat before him ; which, in Presence of the Guests, he cuts into small Bits, puts
them

them into little Cups, and sets them on the Table. The Carver makes Use of no Cloth to wipe his Hands, but cuts off what is best dressed round the Bone as long as he can, and tears off the Remainder with his Hands, which are greased up to the Elbows so plentifully, that the Sight of them is enough to give the Spectators a Meal, more especially such as have squeamish Stomachs.

Their Drinks are Brandy, which they call *Arakka*, and a Sort of Wine they drink warm, called *Tarasu*, which is a Decoction of green or half-ripe Rice : and after it hath been kept a Year or two, in Colour, Taste, and Strength, is very like the best *Rhenish* Wine.

Whilst we were at Table, the Master of the Band of Players upon his Knees presented the *Mandaryn* with a Book of red Paper, containing a List of Plays written in black Letters, which the *Mandaryn* perusing, told him which Play he chose ; after this, bowing his Head to the Earth, he arose and begun the Performance immediately.

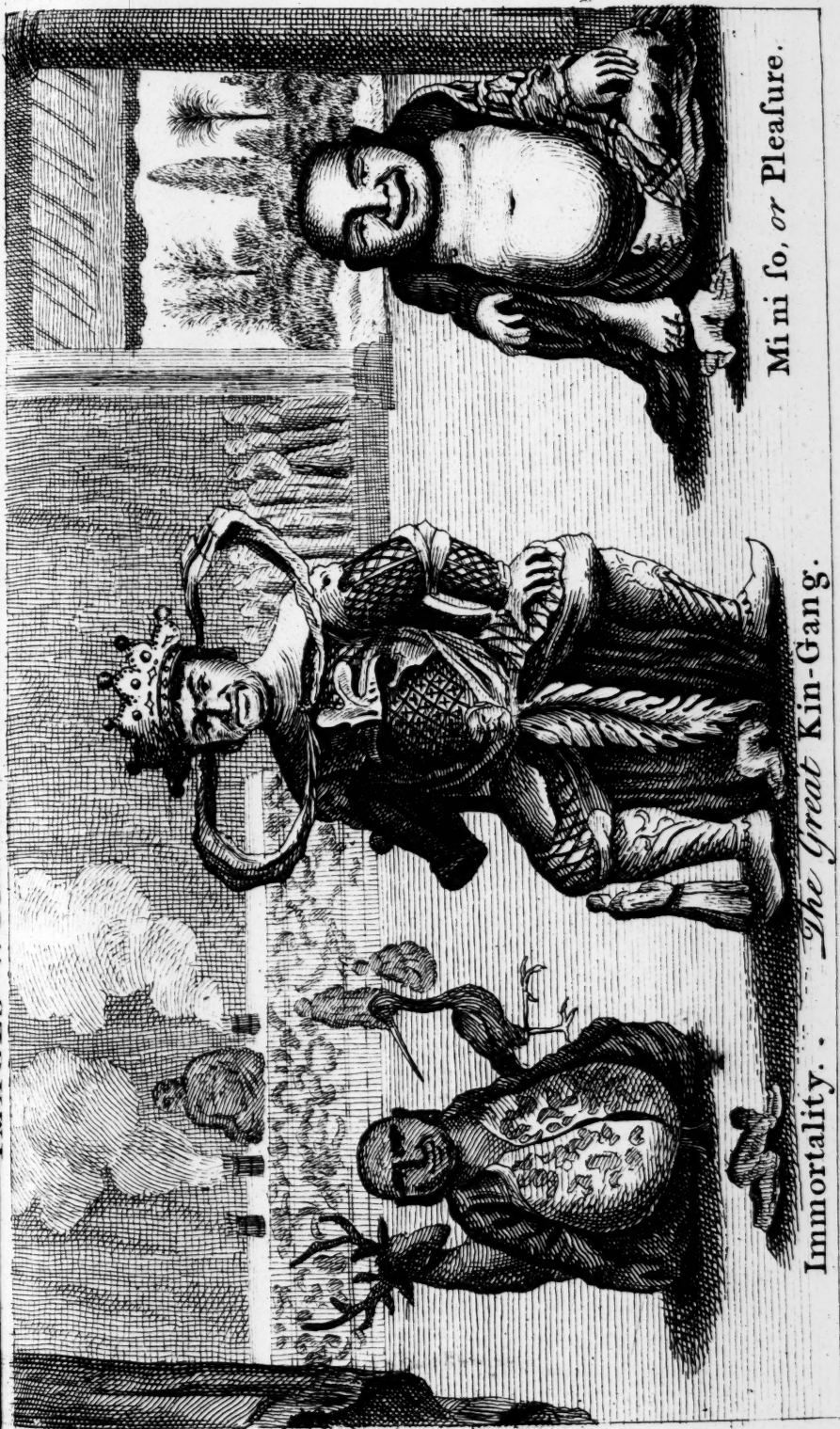
First entered a very beautiful Lady, magnificently dressed in Cloth of Gold, adorned with Jewels, and a Crown on her Head, singing her Speech, with a charming Voice, and agreeable Motion of the Body, playing with her Hands, in one of which she had a Fan. The Prologue thus performed, the Play followed, the Story of which turned upon a *Chinese* Emperor long since dead, who had behaved himself well towards his Country, and in Honour of whose Memory the Play was written. Sometimes he appeared in Royal Robes, with a flat Ivory Sceptre in his Hand, and sometimes his Officers shewed themselves with Ensigns, Arms, Drums, &c. and by Intervals a Sort of Farce was acted by their Lacqueys, whose antick Dress, and painted Faces were as well as any I have seen in *Europe* ; and, as far as was interpreted to me, their Farce was very diverting, especially Part of it, which represented a Person, who had in his Marriage been cheated by a debauched Wife, and fancying her constant to him, had the Mortification to see another make Love to her before his Face. They also, according to their Manner, danced to the Lute ; and after three several Plays were acted, and it grew towards Midnight, I took my Leave,

rid Home, fet forwards on my Journey the following Day, and over a floating wooden Bridge passed the River *Lungo*, which comes from the West, and flows South-Eastward into the Sea of *Corea*.

We passed through several considerable Towns and large Villages, all of which were very populous, and very conveniently provided with Horses and all Manner of Necessaries for Travellers; here we observed more especially great Numbers of Inns, Cook-Shops, and Tea-Houses. In the Evening we came to the City of *Xungunxa*, where the *Mandaryn*, as before, invited me to Supper; but being indisposed, and very much tired with a tedious Day's Journey, I civilly refused him, and staying at Home, refreshed myself with the charming Fruits of that Country, such as Grapes, Limons, Oranges, Apples, Pears, Chestnuts, large and small Nuts, &c. all exquisite in their respective Kinds.

The following Day we travelled upon a high Rock, passing by the Temple called *Jugangu*, the Front of which appeared very beautiful, being all of square Stone, and seemed to be a strong Fort or Castle. Next Day we passed on the left Hand or East Side over a high Mountain, by a beautiful Cloyster, and several Towns and Villages. This Temple is in the Province of *Peking*, and very famous, by Reason the Image of an antient *Chinese* King, or false God, is kept there, which induces several Husbandmen, not only from the neighbouring Villages, but even as far as the great Wall, to come hither in Pilgrimage in the Spring to implore a fruitful Summer, and after Harvest to thank their Deity for a good Crop; to perform which Office whole Villages and Families resort hither with their Priests. The Women being dressed in their best Apparel, ride on Asses in the middle of the Procession. The Priests carry painted and metallick Representations or Images of several Idols; and some of the Men carry a Sort of long Trumpets, others Flutes, Drums and Kettle Drums, with which they make a horrid Noise. They are all followed by a *Lama*, or Idolatrous Priest, with a Basket fastened to his Body, in which he carries triangular folded Papers, some gilded and others silvered over; these he scatters on the Way about 100 Fathom from

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Immortality. *The Great Kin-Gang.*

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from the Cloyster, in Honour of the *Wonder-worker* or *Idol*. Another carries burning perfum'd Tapers, which last till they come to their designed Place. These Pilgrims stay several Days there, passing their Time in all Manner of Diversions as well as Devotions.

Prosecuting our Journey we passed by a City inhabited only by the Emperor's Concubines and their Retinue, where that Monarch stays several Days when he goes a Hunting. The City is not large, but hath a great many fine Stone Palaces covered with red Tiles; is full of Idol Temples, and encompassed with a high Stone Wall. About three Cannon Shot West of this Place is a Spring of boiling hot Water, of which a hot Bath is made.

On the 2d of *November* we passed through several Towns and Villages, and over a Stone Bridge over the River *Tungo*, which brought us to the City of *Tunxo*, which is fortified by a great Wall, and is situate close to the River *Tungo*. About as far as the mentioned Bridge, the Governor of the City and principal Officers, with a great Train of Horsemen, came to welcome me. The *Mandaryns* told me that this Governor was a very great Noble, by Birth a *Mongolian*, or *East-Tartar*, and a very affable well bred Man. He invited me and the *Mandaryns* to Dinner, and gave us a noble Entertainment, suitable to his Quality and Character.

The City of *Tunxo* is very large, populous, and a Place of great Trade, by Reason of the Water Carriage from thence to *Japan* and the Provinces of *Nanquing* and *Corea*. On this River, and haled on Shore by its Sides, lie a great many Jonks; besides several which belong to the Emperor, and are richly adorned with carved Work, Galleries, and Windows. In these Barges the Governors of Places are carried to their appointed Cities, landed, and afterwards brought Home again. Those Jonks which are haled on Shore are inhabited in Winter like Houses, though there is indeed but very little Winter here, nor doth the River ever freeze up, though sometimes Ice appears on the Shore. These Jonks or Barks are indifferent large, and built very strong. When they lie on the Wharfs the Joints, instead of Pitch and Tar, are stopped and smeared over with a Sort of Clay mixed

with some other Ingredients, which once dried keeps faster and firmer than any Pitch. The Masts are a Sort of *Bamboes*, hollow within, but yet very strong; and some of them are as thick as an ordinary Man's Waste. The Sails are a certain Sort of Rushes woven together, that when furled, fold up as pliable as Flags, which is somewhat surprizing. The Forepart of these Ships is very flat, being built Arch-wise from Top to Bottom, and very conveniently fitted for the Sea. Infomuch that, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, with a good Wind, in one of these they can reach the *Koreæschian Sea* in three or four Days; and supposing the Wind favourable, can in four or five Days Sail, gain from thence to the Kingdom or Empire of *Japan*, so little are they Novices in Sailing.

Passing through this City, I rode through the *China* Earthen Ware Market, where I saw vast Quantities of the finest *Porcelain* in the World. I also observed Abundance of *Pagods* or *Idol Temples* and Cloysters; and after I had lodged a Night in the Suburbs, and got every Thing in Order, departed next Day, and proceeded forward till I entered *Peking*, this being the last Lodging-Place in my Way to that celebrated Capital of this extensive Empire.

As *China Ware* is so universally used all over *Europe*, and so greatly admired, we shall here give an Account of the Manufacture of it, of what Materials it is composed, and in what Manner wrought.

“ There are, exclusive of the Colours, three principal Ingredients in *China*. These Ingredients are a dry Earth, a moist Clay, and a stony Oil.

“ That which is stiled a dry Earth, is in Reality a kind of Fire Stone cut out of the Quarries, and sent by Water to the Place where the Manufacture is carried on.

“ There it is beat to Pieces, and reduced into a gross Powder; then with an Iron Pestle it is beat in a Brass Mortar till it becomes as fine as possible; but they do not give themselves the Trouble of Sifting, from an Apprehension that the finest Parts would fly off in the Operation. On the contrary, they throw it, thus beaten into Water, and giving it Time to settle, skim off, with great Niceness

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“ nefs and Dexterity, the Cream, and this, in their figura-
“ tive Way of Speaking, they stile the Flesh of the *Cbina*.
“ As for the moist Clay, it is undoubtedly a Kind of Ful-
“ ler’s Earth, for they describe it to be of a greyish White,
“ very even, clammy, and, in short, a Sort of natural Soap.
“ This is likewise brought by Water, and is, generally
“ speaking, made up in the Form of Bricks; but as the
“ *Chinese* are for the most Part strongly tinctured with the
“ Spirit of Fraud, they very often adulterate this precious
“ Clay, though it is not of a very great Price, with other
“ Things that are however of less Price; and this obliges
“ the Manufacturers to be at a great deal of Trouble in re-
“ fining it, which is done by the help of Water; for it is a
“ settled Rule, with Respect to these two Ingredients, never
“ to make Use of Fire.

“ This moist Clay is intermixed naturally with a Sort of
“ sparry Substance, which to the Eye looks like the Inside
“ of Oyfter Shells, and with which the whole Mass is so
“ thoroughly impregnated, that when it is purified and
“ cleansed from all other Mixtures, the smallest Particle of
“ it, if broken, will discover Specks of this sparry Matter.
“ This second Substance, when perfectly pure, they dissolve
“ in Water till it has acquired the Consistency of the for-
“ mer, and this they call the Bones of the *Cbina*. For the
“ finest Sort, these Materials are equally mixt and incorpo-
“ rated; for the middle Sort, there are three Parts of dry
“ Earth to two of moist Clay; for the coarsest *Cbina*, they
“ mix three Parts of the former with one of the latter.

“ The third Ingredient is the Oil which is drawn from
“ the dry Earth or Stone, by a very curious Process, and
“ this they mingle with another Oil extracted from Lime
“ seven Times burnt. There is a very great Art in ma-
“ king this Mixture, for in certain Proportions these Oils
“ will incorporate, but those Proportions vary continually,
“ according to the Nature of the respective Liquors. The
“ great Point therefore is to hit this exactly, and when this
“ is done, there results from these two Oils a third, which is
“ the last Ingredient, and serves for a Varnish to the *Cbina*.

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“ In the Manufacture the several Pieces go through different Hands, but the most troublesome Part is preparing the PASTE, composed of the two first Ingredients, which are needed together upon Tiles, or rather upon Floors made of Tiles, till they become so close and even, that, upon breaking, there does not appear the least Vacuity; for a Hair, a Grain of Sand, the smallest Fragment of any Metal, if taken up in the PASTE, will infallibly spoil the Piece, into which it happens to light.

“ When all this is performed, it comes into the Hands of the Potters, who first adjust the Weight of what they are to make, and then raising it in a rough Way, pass it from Hand to Hand, every Man taking that Share of the Work in which his particular Talent lies; so that one applies it to the Mold, another pares it with the Chissel to a proper Thinness, a third smooths its Edges, and, in this Manner, a Cup and Saucer shall pass through seventy Hands. When it is clear of the Potters, it comes to those who give it the Oil or Varnish, and with them it passes from Hand to Hand, according to their various Capacities, and their Address in finishing different Sorts of Work.

“ The Body of Painters receive it next, and as slight as we make of them, for indeed they have no other Instructor than Nature, yet it is very wonderful how much Care and Pains they take. One traces the Border, another gilds it, he who draws the Outlines of a Flower never colours it, one Hand paints Clouds, another Water, a third Animals, a fourth Insects, a fifth Human Figures, and so on. Last of all it arrives at the Furnace, and is committed to the Care of the Bakers; neither are their Tasks less difficult than those of the other Workmen, for an exact Knowledge of the Degrees of Fire, how to raise, how to distinguish, how to heighten, how to reduce them, are requisite in these People, who possess wonderful Talents in their Way.

“ Besides the five separate Corps which make up what may be stiled, the regular Workmen in this Manufacture, there are a Variety of Branches belonging to it,
“ that

“ that occupy as great a Number of People, such as those
“ who prepare the several Ingredients, those that make the
“ several Instruments and Tools that are required in the
“ Progress of this Work ; those that distil an Oil from
“ transparent Flints for the superfine *China*, of which none
“ comes to *Europe* ; those that extract and prepare the Co-
“ lours, who are also exceeding skilful in their Way, are in-
“ comparable in their Preparations of Blues and Reds, and
“ understand perfectly the Art of compounding, so as by a
“ judicious Intermixture of the primary Colours, to produce
“ all the rest with Truth and Beauty. After what has been
“ said, the Reader perhaps will not think it altogether in-
“ credible, when he is told, that in *Kim te tcbim*, there are
“ not fewer than one thousand Furnaces or Laboratories ;
“ to each of which belong distinct Companies of Workmen ;
“ that the settled Inhabitants amount to eighteen thousand
“ Families ; and that the Number of Souls maintained by,
“ and depending upon this Manufacture in this Place, is
“ computed to fall very little short of a Million.

“ It is allowed that vast Quantities of this Ware are ex-
“ ported annually to *Europe*, which, like most other
“ Branches of their Commerce, must be extremely benefi-
“ cial to the *Chinese*, who in Point of Oeconomy must be
“ acknowledged the wisest Nation upon the Face of the
“ Globe : For though they love Magnificence, are no Ene-
“ mies to Pleasure, and indulge Softness and Luxury to a
“ very great Degree, yet what the *French* call their *Police*,
“ is so extremely well regulated, that these seldom or never
“ create any Difficulties to the State. They encourage and
“ work by *European* Patterns, from a very wise and a judi-
“ cious Notion of pleasing their Customers ; but besides
“ the *European* Market they vend vast Quantities of *Por-
celain* elsewhere ; as for Instance they supply the whole
“ Empire of *Japan*, they send vast Quantities by the Cara-
“ vans into different Parts of *Tartary*, they supply all *India*
“ and *Persia* ; and the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* take off very
“ large Assortments for the *European* Settlements in the
“ *East-Indies*, and for the other Countries with which they
“ trade.

“ But

“ But notwithstanding this, the finest, richest and most
 “ valuable *China* remains in that Empire, and is not ex-
 “ ported at all, or at least very rarely ; there is particularly
 “ a yellow *China*, which is destined to the Imperial Use,
 “ and is prohibited to all others, tho’ we are told, that the
 “ Grand Signior always eats out of this kind of *Porcelain* ;
 “ but how he comes by it, is a Secret we have not been able
 “ to penetrate. They have a kind of Crimson *China*, which
 “ is very fine and very dear, because great Quantities of it
 “ are spoiled in the Baking. They have another Sort of a
 “ shining White, purfled with red, which is done by a dex-
 “ terous blowing the Colour through a Gawse, so that both
 “ the Inside and the Out is equally beautified with Crimson
 “ Spots, no bigger than Pins Points, and this must be ex-
 “ cessively dear, since for one Piece that succeeds, a hun-
 “ dred are spoiled. They have *China* purfled in the same
 “ Manner with Gold, which is highly valuable for the same
 “ Reason. They have a kind of *China*, which by drawing
 “ Lines with a Hair Pencil, dipped in Oil of Flint, before
 “ it is varnished, looks like *Mosaic* Work, or as if the *Chi-
 “ na* had been cracked thorough in a thousand Places, and
 “ was set together again without Cement. They have a
 “ kind of Violet colour’d *China*, with Figures composed
 “ of green Specks, which is done by blowing the Colour at
 “ once through a Figure pierced full of Holes, and this
 “ succeeds so rarely, that a very small Bason is worth two
 “ or three hundred Pounds. They have a kind of white
 “ *China* excessively thin, with blue Fishes painted on the
 “ Metal between the Varnish, so that they are invisible but
 “ when the Cup is full of Liquor.

“ Father *Anthony Solis*, a Portuguese Missionary, who re-
 “ sided forty Years in *China*, and died at *Macao*, wrote a
 “ Treatise which was never printed, though it very well de-
 “ served it of the Frauds of the *Chinese*, and amongst these
 “ he reckons old *China*. He tells us, that no Country in
 “ the World abounds so much with *Virtuosi* as this, and
 “ that these People, by giving high Prices for antique
 “ *China*, have brought it into great Credit, but that by
 “ the Help of a yellow Clay, Oils of several Kinds, some
 of

“ of which are Metallick, and laying the *China* for some
“ Months in Mud as soon as it comes from the Furnace,
“ they produce the very same Sort that is so highly valued
“ by the Vulgar, for being five or six hundred Years old.

“ There is one Thing more that I shall add to this Dis-
“ course, and that from the same Author; it is a Descrip-
“ tion of an antient Painting, making one Side of a Sum-
“ mer-House, thirty-three Feet in Length, and seventeen
“ in Height, which seems to be a single and perfect Plate
“ of *China*; though it is certain, that they can bake no-
“ thing of any Thing like that Size in a single Piece. But
“ upon a strict Inspection, it appeared to be a Wall made
“ of *China* Bricks, the Face painted, varnished, and tho-
“ roughly baked by a Fire raised before it, and kept up a
“ proper Time. It appeared by the History of the Town,
“ that the *Mandaryn*, at whose Expence it was done, failed
“ twelve Times in the Attempt, and that this was the thir-
“ teenth Wall of this Kind that had been erected.

“ Every Trade in *China* has its peculiar Deity, or rather
“ Idol; and therefore it cannot be supposed, that so noble,
“ so gainful a Manufacture, should want one, and yet this
“ was the Case for some hundreds of Years; at length a
“ bold Potter formed the bold Design of deifying him-
“ self, and giving his Profession a Protector, as other
“ Trades had. The Fact happened thus; A certain Em-
“ peror ordered a Number of Vessels to be made of a Size
“ superior to any in Use before his Time, and many Trials
“ were made to no Purpose; for notwithstanding they in-
“ creased the Thickness of the Plates to several Inches, yet
“ when the full Heat was given, they melted and sunk
“ down into a shapeless Mass. At this the *Chinese* Work-
“ man was at length so much provoked, that growing
“ frantick with Despair, he threw himself into the Furnace,
“ and was there consumed to Ashes in a Moment; and,
“ what was surprizing, the Attempt that was next made
“ succeeded happily; and the *Chinese* Emperor had, ac-
“ cording to his Wish, such *Porcelain* as never adorned the
“ Tables of his Predecessors. To reward the Courage of
“ so great a Hero, of which by the Way there are but few

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“ in this Country, and to perpetuate the Memory of so extraordinary an Action, it was agreed, that he should be honoured as the tutelary God of *China* Ware, and his Idol is to this Day worshipped by all the Fraternity of *Porcelain-makers*, under the Name of *Pou sa* ; to which they offer Prayers, cut Paper, and Incense, as to the other Idols.

“ We shall, however, be much mistaken, if we consider *Pou sa* as the only Martyr of this Trade, for in Fact there have been many thousands, or rather Millions ; for the Fatigues which they endure in every Branch of the Manufacture, but more especially such as attend the Furnace, is so great, that a quick Succession in their Labours is occasioned thereby. The Hills which surround the famous Town of *Kim te tehim*, are crowded with the Graves of these poor Labourers ; but though such Numbers are buried there, yet there are far greater Numbers that die so poor as not to leave wherewith to bury them at all. For the Reception of these unhappy Wretches, there are vast Pits dug at the Bottom of the Hills, into which their Bodies are hurled without either Ceremony or Covering, except it be quick Lime, of which half its own Weight is bestowed on every Corpse. By this Means the Flesh is quickly consumed ; and once a Year the *Bonzes*, from a Principle of Charity, as they pretend, come and collect the Bones which are burnt, and the Pit being purified by vast Fires, becomes again a Repository for these Relicts of Mortality.”

About Ten in the Morning we approached within half a Mile of *Peking*, and went by several magnificent Country Seats, belonging to the Inhabitants as well as *Mandaryns* ; both Sides of the Way were adorned with these noble Buildings, before which were wide Canals, which served to carry off the falling Water, with small Stone Bridges over them, opposite to the Houses. The Gardens were most of them fenced with Stone Walls, and adorned with carved Gates, and very fine Garden-Houses ; the largest Paths were planted on each Side with Cypresses and Cedars, which afforded a charming Prospect and Passage through them.

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The Gates of the finest Gardens were set open, I suppose on my Account. These pleasant Seats continued on each Side the Way to the Entrance of the City. It is also observable, that from the great Wall to *Peking*, at the Distance of about every half Mile, are Watch Towers, in each of which are five or six Soldiers, who Night and Day display the Emperor's Flags and Ensigns, which are yellow : These *Turrets*, like Beacons, serve on Occasion of any Enemy appearing from the East, to light Fires on, to convey Notice of it to the Emperor, which is done so expeditiously, that in a very few Hours it reaches *Peking*.

The Land from the City of *Lania* hither is plain, and good Arable Ground ; on which grows Rice, Barley, Millet, Wheat, Oats, Peas and Beans, but no Rye. The Roads here are very broad, perfectly strait, and very well kept ; for if but one Stone be found on them, it is immediately thrown to the Side by Persons expressly appointed for that Purpose. In all the Villages we saw Pails filled with Water, standing ready for the Camels and Asses to drink ; and, to my no small Wonder, I observed that the great Roads through the Country, were as noisy by the Multitude of Travellers and Waggon, as if they were the crowded Streets of a populous City. So wonderfully stocked is this vast Empire with Inhabitants.

After I had caused our Caravan, with all the travelling Baggage, to be dispatched into the City an Hour before, I rode on in Order with my Convoy, and those who were ordered to ride before me, making in all ninety Persons, besides several *Cossacks*. The Crowd at the Gates, and the Concourse of People with which the Streets were lined, gave us some Interruption at our Entry into the City. Notwithstanding there were several of the Emperor's Boschy, or Harbingers, appointed to make Way for our Passage, yet they had enough to do to make us bare passing Room, the *Chinese* being very curious to see Novelties. Being come near to the Ambassador's Court, several *Mandaryns* came to meet and compliment me on my Arrival. Both Sides of the Streets were lined with Soldiers, as well as the Court. Riding through which, they brought me to my Apartment,

where not myself only, but all my Retinue, were instantly stocked with all Manner of Provisions and Refreshments; and we every Morning returned Thanks to the Great GOD, who, after a long and difficult Journey of one Year and eight Months, had at last conducted us safe and well to our desired Place, without the Loss of any more than one Man, whose Death for that Reason has been particularly mentioned.

After a Repose of three Days, I expected to be informed when it would please the Emperor to admit me to Audience: And, according to the Custom of this Country, that Day the Emperor's Orders came for me to appear, and receive a Welcoming or Meal. Upon which I prepared myself, and several great *Mandaryns* were appointed to conduct me up into the Castle; where the Viceroy, *Sungut Deriamba*, Uncle to the Emperor, and four of the greatest Lords of the Empire, received and welcomed me. Here the Floor was over-spread with Carpets; upon which having seated myself with them, the Viceroy, in the Name of the Emperor, acquainted me that the Emperor his Master presented me with this Table, or Entertainment; and though he could not himself be present, yet desired I would accept this Meal, as a Welcome after such a long Journey. After which, the Table was covered with cold Meats, as roast Geese, Chickens, Pork and Mutton, besides all Sorts of Fruits and Confections: The Table appointed for me alone was about an Ell square; upon which the Dishes, that were all of Silver, and piled one upon another, amounted as I told them, to the Number of seventy.

They were entertained with Tea, and I with Tarasoen and Rhenish Wines. The Viceroy and other Lords diverted themselves by smoaking Tobacco, and he made his Compliment to me in the following Words: He desired that I would accept of this Entertainment, as a Testimony of the Emperor's Favour, and expect his Orders in a few Days to bring their *Czarish* Majesties Credentials, and receive my publick Audience; upon which rising up, and thanking him for the Emperor's Favours, I returned to the Ambassador's Court.

On the 12th of *November*, the Viceroy sent some *Mandaryns* to give me Notice to appear with their *Czarish* Majesties Credentials next Morning in the Castle; for which I accordingly prepared myself. At Eight in the Morning three principal *Mandaryns* came to advise me that it was then a proper Time to wait on the Emperor: Besides their common Habit, they were also dressed in Robes, which were embroidered, some with Dragons, others with Lyons, and a third Sort with Tygers and Cranes on the Breast and Back, worked with Gold Thread: They brought with them fifty Horses for my Retinue. According to the *European* Mode, I advanced with their *Czarish* Majesties Credentials, and was attended by my Retinue in good Order towards the Court.

Coming to the outer Gate of the Castle, there is a Pillar, with some Characters engraven on it, where I was told I must alight, according to their Custom; so that I went on Foot through five outer Courts to the Castle itself. I found a great Number of *Mandaryns* at the Court, all cloathed in the richest embroidered Robes, such as they wear in the Emperor's Presence, who waited for me.

After we had mutually exchanged Compliments, the Emperor appeared on his Throne; upon which I delivered his *Czarish* Majesty's Credentials, and after the usual Ceremonies, and a short Speech, was conducted back.

On the 16th of the same Month, I was informed that I was invited to eat before the Emperor: Wherefore, in the Morning, accompanied with the *Mandaryns* thereto appointed, and the chief Gentlemen of my Retinue, I rode to Court. And in the sixth Court, a great many Lords and *Mandaryns* were standing in Rows in their best Robes; and shortly after an Order came for us to appear above in the Palace. As soon as I entered, the Emperor ascended his exalted Throne, having near him some Persons who played very finely on the Fife, and a Life-Guard of twelve Men with gilt Halbards without any Point to them, but adorned with Leopards and Tygers Tails. As soon as the Emperor was seated, the Musick ceased, and the Halbardiers seated themselves cross-legg'd on each Side below the Throne. The Emperor's Table was furnished with cold Meats, Fruits,

Fruits, and Sweetmeats, served up in Silver Dishes, and the whole covered with yellow Damask. The Viceroy, the Emperor's Uncle, and two other of the principal Nobles, stood on each Side of his Imperial Majesty, and I was placed on the Right Hand of the Throne, about four Fathom distant from the Emperor; who looking very earnestly at me, ordered the Viceroy (who received his Commands on his Knees) to bring me nearer. Upon which he took me by the Hand, and placed me about two Fathom distant from the Emperor, and my Retinue was placed about six behind me. The Emperor a second Time sent the Viceroy to me with the utmost Respect, to ask after the Health of their *Czarish* Majesties; to which I returned the proper Answer. Then he caused his Table to be uncovered, by taking off the Damask Covering, and desired me to eat, a Table being spread for me only: The other Lords and *Mandaryns*, about two hundred in Number, took their Places according to their Quality, sitting two at each Table, in the *Persian* Manner, upon Carpets, with their Legs under them; which Custom I was obliged to comply with, as it is not to be dispensed with here.

The Emperor sent me from his Table a roast Goose, a Pig, a Loin of very good Mutton, and soon after several Dishes of Fruit, and a Sort of Drink composed of boiled Tea, fry'd Meal and Butter, which looked not unlike Bean or Coffee Decoction: Having received all which, with due Respect, the Emperor ordered the Viceroy to ask me what *European* Languages I understood; to which I answered, I could speak the *Muscovite*, *German*, *Low-Dutch*, and a little *Italian*.

Upon which, he immediately dispatched some Servants to the hinder Part of the Palace; which done, there instantly appeared three *Jesuits*, who approached the Throne; and, after kneeling, and performing their Reverence to the Emperor, he commanded them to rise. One of these was Father *John Francis Gerbillon*, a *Frenchman*; and the two others were *Portuguese*, one of them called Father *Anthony Thomas*. The Emperor ordered Father *Gerbillon* to converse with me; who coming towards me, speaking *Italian*,
asked

asked me in the Emperor's Name, how long I had been travelling from *Moscow* to *Peking*, and which Way I came, by Waggon, on Horseback, or by Water: To which I returned satisfactory Answers; on which returning to his Majesty, he informed him, who immediately answered *Gowa, Gowa*, which is, very well. The Emperor then ordered the Viceroy to acquaint me, that it was his most gracious Pleasure that I should approach nearer his Presence, by coming up to the Throne; upon which I arising, the Viceroy taking me by the Hand, after having led me up six Steps, set me at the Table opposite to the Emperor. After I had paid my most humble Respects to his Majesty, he talked with Father *Gerbillon*; who again asked me, how long I had been on the Way hither, in what Manner I travelled, and in what Latitude *Moscow* was situate, and how far distant from *Poland, France, Italy, Portugal, or Holland*? To all which I observed my Answer proved very satisfactory. Upon which he gave the Viceroy a Gold Cup of *Tartarian* Liquor called *Kumis*, in order to hand it to me; which, with due Respect, I accepted, and having tasted, returned it. This *Kumis*, according to the Report of the Attendants, is a Sort of Brandy distilled from Mare's Milk. After this, the Emperor ordered my Retinue to advance within three Fathom of his Throne, and entertained them with the same Liquor; which being done, I paid my Compliment in the *European* Manner, and the Viceroy took me by the Hand, conducting me to my former Place; where, after sitting for a Quarter of an Hour, I was desired to rise.

After this the Emperor arose, and having saluted me, descended from the Throne, and went out of the Audience Hall by a Door on the Left Hand, in order to go to his Royal Apartment. As he was leaving the Hall, he sent the Viceroy to ask me, whether I had heard any News out of *Europe*, concerning Father *Grimaldi*, who had been dispatched thither on the Emperor's Affairs: To which I answered, that when I left *Moscow*, I was informed that he, with a Retinue of twenty-five Persons, arrived at *Smyrna*, and resolved to prosecute his Travels through *Persia* and *India*.

India. He replied, I am informed he is safely arrived at *Goa*, and is upon his Departure thence in order to his Return hither, and it is seven Years since he left *China*. Here-upon I took my Leave, and retired to my Apartment.

Designing to take another Opportunity to give an Account of what I could observe concerning the Court, I shall at present only describe the Outside of the Palace, and the Throne on which the Emperor sate. The Palace is an oblong quadrangular Brick Building, which is twice as long as broad, and the Roof covered with yellow glazed Tiles, on which were fixed Lyons, Dragons, and all Sorts of Imagery : The Height of this Building to the Roof was about eight Fathom ; * the Ascent to the Hall was up several Steps, and the farther Part or Entrance of it was provided with certain open Places or Windows, which were not glazed, but peaked with Paper. At the Ends of this Hall were two Doors, the Tops of which were adorned with a Sort of carved Work, somewhat like a Crown, which was was extraordinary well gilt. This Building hath neither any Room over it, or arched Roof, but the Height of the Room is to the very Top of the Roof, which was composed of curious Pannels, beautifully coloured, japanned, and finely gilded. This Hall is about thirty Fathom long, and ten broad. The Floor, according to the *Tartarian* Mode, was covered with Carpets, adorned with Landskips and Figures.

The Throne is placed opposite to the Eastern Entrance, against the back Wall, and is about three Fathom broad, and as many long ; before it are two Ascents with six Steps each, adorned with Rails and Representations of Leaves very well gilt : On the Right and Left Sides were also Rails of cast Imagery, which some report to be Gold, and others Silver, which are also extraordinary well gilt. Exactly in the Middle of this raised Place is a Throne, somewhat like an Altar, which opens with two Doors, and in it the Emperor's Seat, about an Ell high, covered with black Sables, on which he sate with his Legs across under him. This Monarch was then aged about fifty Years, his Mein was very agreeable, he had large black Eyes, and his Nose somewhat

* A Fathom is six Feet.



The various Habits of the Chinese, and Tartars.

somewhat rising ; he wore small black Mustachoes, but had very little or no Beard on the lower Part of his Face ; he was very much pitted with the Small Pox, and of a middling Stature. His Dress consisted of a common dark coloured Damask Waistcoat, a Coat of deep blue Sattin, adorned with Ermines ; besides which, he had a String of Coral hanging about his Neck, and down on his Breast. He had a warm Cap on, turned up with Sable, to which was added a red Silk Knot, and some Peacocks Feathers hanging down behind. His Hair, plaited into one Lock, hung behind him. He had no Gold nor Jewels about him. He had Boots on, which were made of black Velvet.

Whilst he was at Dinner, such a reverential and profound Silence was observed amongst the *Mandaryns*, that not only no Noise was heard, but they forbore so much as speaking to one another, all sitting very still with modest down-cast Eyes, amongst them the highest Mark of Respect.

On the next Day the Emperor sent two *Mandaryns* with fifty Horses for my Retinue, and a Message, importing, it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that if I desired to see the City, all that was worth my View should be shewed me. Pursuant to which, I caused my Horse to be saddled, and rode out with these *Mandaryns* ; who, by the Emperor's Command, brought me to a Sort of Play-House, or Court of Diversion, which was a very lofty and capacious Building. In it was a great Stage, adorned with carved Imagery, finely painted, which the Players had the Use of for an annual Rent. In the Middle of this Palace was an open Place encompassed with Galleries, in which the *Mandaryns* desired us to sit down on Chairs ; and having entertained me with Tea and *Tharasin* Wine, I and all my Retinue were treated with a Comedy, and the Diversion of seeing a great many different Sorts of exquisite Jugglers ; who, by a dexterous Slight of Hand, seem to produce not only all Sorts of Fruits, as Oranges, Lemons, Grapes, &c. but live Birds and Crabs, and perform all the Dexterities of that Kind practised in *Europe*. Others so nicely play'd with round Glass Balls, as big as a Man's Head, at the Point of a sharp Stick, tossing them several Ways, without breaking or letting them

fall, that it was really surprizing. After this a *Bamboe* Cane, about seven Foot high, was held upright by six Men, and a Boy about ten Years old crept up to the Top of it as nimbly as a Monkey, and laid himself on his Belly upon the End of it, turning himself several Times round; after which, rising up, he set one Foot on the *Bamboe*, holding fast to it with one Hand, and then loosing his Hold, clapp'd his Hands together, and ran very swiftly down, and shewed several other Feats of Agility, which were very wonderful as well as highly entertaining.

The Comedies had also a very good Effect, by Reason they were acted in the best Manner by the Emperor's Players. They frequently appeared in Changes of very rich Dresses, embroidered in Gold and Silver; and the Plot turned on the Story of a triumphant Hero, in which was brought in their Idols, and a late Emperor, whose Face was painted of a Blood Colour; which was intermixed with a Farce, or diverting Entertainment, of two young Women richly dress'd, who stood each on a Man's Shoulder, and nicely play'd with their Fans, bowing to one another, and keeping Time to the Musick as exactly as if they had danced on the Ground. Two little Boys play'd *Hofsticki* or *Harlequins*, in very fantastick Habits, and recited their Parts very well. After the End of the whole, I thanked the *Mandaryns*, and returned Home. On the same Day the Emperor went out a Tyger hunting, without the great Wall, pursuant to his annual Custom, and returned in a few Days to *Peking*.

On the same Day I was invited to a Repast by the Viceroy, or *Sungut Doriamba*, with which Invitation I comply'd, and after some Discourse passing betwixt us, he led me by the Hand out of his Bed-chamber into his best Hall, or Parlour, where several Tables and Stools stood ready; the Tables were adorned with rich Tapestry Carpets of Silk and Gold, which were full wrought with Figures. I was seated on one, and the *Mandaryns* on the other Side of the Viceroy. The Tables were also set off with very fine Flower Pots, full of Flowers of all Sorts of Colours, worked in Silk, which not only looked very beautiful, but very natural; Crimson Velvets, and the most charming coloured

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Silks, being chosen to make them, it being Winter, when no natural Flowers were to be gathered : On the fore Part of these Tables were also placed Silver Cups, in which was laid lighted Pieces of the fragrant Wood *Kalamba*, which afforded a very good Perfume ; next which stood fine Wooden Images, and Variety of small Figures or Puppets, finely painted and gilt. The Chairs or Stools on which the Viceroy and I sat, were, according to the *Tartarian* Fashion, hung at the Back with Leopard and Tyger Skins, which appeared very magnificent ; and a larger Dish of Tea than ordinary, in which was put peel'd Walnuts and Hazle Nuts, with a little Iron Spoon to take them out on Occasion, was placed before each Person. After the Tea was drank off, which tasted very agreeably, several little Agate Cups, filled with Brandy mixed with distilled Waters, were served about ; and after that, several Dishes, or rather Cups, of fry'd or broil'd Fish, cut into small Pieces, were set in Heaps one upon another, garnished with fine Herbs and Flowers, and as an Ornament set on the fore Part of the Table in a Row ; by them were placed six Cups of very agreeable Soups, dished up with very fine stewed Flesh and Fish ; and when we had eaten of these, we were regaled with several Courses of the richest Edibles, which were followed by all Sorts of fine baked Meats ; and after this last Course, all Kinds of delicious Confects, as candy'd Grapes, Lemons, Oranges, Chestnuts, and shell'd Nuts.

During our sitting at Table, in the Room where we eat was acted a Play, interlarded with Songs and Dances, by little Boys dressed in Girls Cloaths, who very skilfully measured their Steps in Proportion to the Time of the Song, and play'd on the Flute withal, distorting their Bodies into antick Postures, and playing with a Fan in their Hands. His Lady and Daughter also appeared at the farther Part of the Hall, standing at a Door, which was but half open : They were very richly dressed according to the Mode of the *Mongolian Tartars*. After I had very agreeably spent three Hours there, accompanied by my Retinue, I rode to my Apartment.

Some Time after I was invited to the House of the Treasurer of the Empire, who is called *Schiley*, where I was splendidly entertained. His Hall was very well furnished according to the *Chinese* Fashion : The Floor of it was laid with a Sort of fine Stone ; at three Corners of which, on Ebony Feet, were three extraordinary white Marble Tables, naturally shaded with black Veins, which represented beautiful Woods, Mountains, and Rivers : On these Tables were placed high Silver Flower Pots, very naturally adorned with all Sorts of fine Flowers. The Pillars, clear up to the Roof, were painted with very fine Colours. While we sat at the Table, we were entertained with a Ball, and after this very agreeable Entertainment, I arose and took Leave, extremely satisfied with all the Civilities that were paid me.

When this Lord accompanied and conducted me through the principal Markets, where Silk, Cloth, Gold and Silver, Jewels, and all Sorts of fine Manufactures, were sold, I was desired to alight, and conducted to the Emperor's Dispensary, which I was willing to make some Scrutiny into, it being richly stocked with all Sorts of Roots, Herbs, and Medicines. I was here treated with a Dish of Tea, and observed while I staid there, that according to the *European* Custom, several Prescriptions of Physicians were brought in, which were methodically prepared. Next to this was a Toy Shop, which I entered, and bought what I liked. The Master of it had a very fine Garden-House, in which were all Sorts of Flowers, young Stocks, and Lemon Trees in Pots : And, amongst other Things, he shew'd me a large Glass full of Water, in which were several living Fish about a Finger's Length, which naturally looked as if they had been gilt with the finest Gold ; and the Scales of some of them being fallen off, discovered, to my great Surprise, the Colour of their Bodies to be the most beautiful Crimson in the World.

After we departed from thence, we went through all the Markets ; each Shop had a great Board set before it, on which is very orderly written the Shopkeeper's Name, and the Commodities which he deals in. We also went through the Fish Market, in which are all Sorts of living Fish, but

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more especially Carps, Caroeffes, and Water Snakes, (which they eat here) Crabs, Shrimps, &c. all which stand in Tubs to be fold, in great Abundance. Passing through another Market, I saw great Numbers of Harts, Roebucks, Hares, Pheasants, Partridges, &c, and several other wild Game, to be fold.

On the 7th of *January* the customary annual Festival happened, which they observe for three Weeks. It began late at Night with the Appearance of the new Moon, and first the great Bell at the Emperor's Court was rung, and their large Drums, expressly kept for and used in their idolatrous Worship, were beaten, and several Cannon discharg'd; upon which all the People in the City, of what Degree soever, according to their Ability, expressed their Joy by Rockets, Serpents, and all Sorts of Fire-Works; to which they also added the beating of an infinite Number of Drums, and, according to their Custom, the sounding of Trumpets by the *Lama's*, or idolatrous Priests, in their most innumerable Temples and Cloysters; infomuch, that from Ten at Night till next Day Noon, there was as great a Noise as if two Armies of one hundred thousand Men were in the Heat of Battle one against another. In the Day Time the Streets were crouded with all Sorts of their Processions, with their Idols, which were carried in various Shapes, and the *Lama's* marched by them with Incense Pots, and Strings of Beads; the Drums and Kettle-Drums beating, Trumpets founding, and other Musick playing, was endless. The carrying of these diabolical Images, followed by a great Train of People, as well as a vast Number of *Lama's*, or Monks, which preceded them, lasted three Days; during which Time all the Shops were shut, and all merchandizing forbidden, on Penalty of severe Punishments. During this Time also the Streets were crouded with People of both Sexes, but more especially Women; who rode on Asses, or Chaises with two Wheels, covered all round, only before left open. The Servant Maids which sat behind, sung, some of them, whilst others blew on a Sort of Horn-Pipe; and some Ladies sat publickly taking a Pipe of Tobacco. The Women never appear in publick through all *China*, except

except in the Province of *Peking* only, and more especially the City, which is inhabited by *Tartars* ; the *Chinese* being obliged to live all about the City Wall, and the Suburbs, where all the chief Markets and publick Places of Sale are.

Some Days after this, the Emperor sent two *Mandaryns* to desire me to be ready to receive my Audience of Leave the next Morning two Hours before Day : And accordingly three Hours before Day, three *Mandaryns* came to me on Horseback, and we rode to the usual alighting Place ; whence being conducted to the third Court, and desired to sit down, I was entertained with a Sort of Bean Decoction of Coffee, usually drank here in the Mornings. In the fourth Court appeared all the principal Officers in their richest Robes, dressed after the East *Tartarian*, or *Mongolian* Mode. At break of Day I was introduced into the fourth Court, and seated amongst the *Mandaryns*, who, according to the particular Rank of each of them, were plac'd on the East and South Sides of the Court. After waiting half an Hour, we heard the Emperor approaching, accompanied with an agreeable Consort of Fifes, and a Sort of Lutes. This was not the Hall in which I had my former Audience, but here was a Throne erected, and hung with yellow Damask, on this Occasion. On each Side of it were two great Drums, curiously gilt and painted, each of which being two Fathom and a half long, they lay upon a Stool made on Purpose for them. After the Emperor was seated, by his Command, the Herald which stood before the Throne, went to the Presence-Chamber Door, directed himself to the Lords which sat without in the Court, and uttering some Words with a shrill Voice, he thrice successively cry'd, *Bow down, bow to the Earth*. Whilst this was three Times done one after another, the Bells were rung, the Drums were beaten, the Lute was touched, and three Pipes, made for that Purpose, were very loudly sounded. Then two principal Lords were, by the Emperor, sent to acquaint me, that it was the Emperor's Pleasure that I should approach nearer his Presence ; accordingly they led me by the Hand from the Place where I was, being about eight Fathom distant from the Throne, where my Retinue were left sitting ;

sitting ; and I sat down on one Side, about three Fathom from the Royal Throne, betwixt two great Lords, which were *Wannes* or Princes, and by Birth *Tartarians* ; and after having paid a respectful Compliment to the Emperor, his great Bell was rung, and the large Drums on each Side were beaten, which made as great a Noise as a Volley of Guns ; the Flutes were also play'd on, and the before-mentioned Pipes nine Times sounded : Upon which I was desired to sit down ; which having done, a Dish of Coffee, or Bean Decoction, was presented to me, which I accepted, and drank up. And after I had dispatched the Affairs of their *Czarish* Majesties with the Emperor, I rose up, and having paid my Compliment to him, he also arose from his Throne, and went out at the West Door to his Apartment.

The Emperor's Life-Guard stood in this fourth Court ; they were cloathed in red Callicoe, printed with red Figures as big as a Rixdollar ; they wore small Hats adorned with yellow Feathers, that being the Imperial Livery Colour. They were armed with Scimeters by their Sides, and fine Lances, with Colours fixed to them, and stood ranked at a Distance from the Throne, on each Side of the Court, where also stood eight white Saddle Horses for Shew. In the third Court of State, were also placed four extraordinary large Elephants, one of which was white. They were all covered with rich Gold embroidered Cloaths ; and all their Strappings, as Bridles, Cruppers, &c. were covered with Silver, and gilt ; and on their Backs was placed a very fine carved wooden Castle, or Gallery, spacious enough for eight Persons to sit in. In this Court also stood the Emperor's Waggons with two Wheels, and his Chaifes, all hung with yellow Damask Curtains : Besides all which, there were there placed several Stands, or Stools, for Drums, Kettle-Drums, idolatrous Instruments, &c.

Being got out of the Castle, I mounted one of the Emperor's Waggons, and was drawn to my Apartment by an Elephant ; on each Side of which ran ten Persons, with a thick Rope in their Hands, fastened to each Side of the Elephant's Mouth, by the Help of which they lead and govern him : On his Neck also sat a Man with an Iron Hook
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in his Hand, which also contributes to hold him in and guide him. He went but at his ordinary Rate, which put his Leaders to run as swift as possibly they could, in order to keep Pace with him.

A few Days after I was invited by the Jesuits, with the Emperor's Leave, to visit the Cloyster; pursuant to which, two *Mandaryns*, according to Order, attended on and conducted me thither. I was then introduced into the Cloyster, which was encompassed with a high Stone Wall, and provided with two exquisite regular Stone Gates after the *Italian* Manner. On the Left Side of the Entrance, under Shelter of a Roof, made for that Purpose in the Court, stand the coelestial and and terrestrial Globes, of an extraordinary Size, each being about a Fathom Diameter. From hence we proceeded on to the Church, which is a very beautiful *Italian* Building, furnished with a large Organ, made by Father *Thomas Pereyra*: And the Church itself, suitable to the *Roman Catholick* Usage, was richly adorned with fine Images and Altars; and was withal large enough to contain two or three thousand People: On the Top was a Clock and Chimes. Having seen the Church, the Fathers brought me into the *Museum*, which was compleatly furnished with all Sorts of *European* Rarities. After which they conducted me to an Apartment on one Side of it, where being asked to sit down, I was treated with all Sorts of Confections and Preserves: Nor did we forget, according to their Custom, to drink the Healths of all the Christian Princes of *Europe* in rich Wines: And after a considerable Stay, I rode to my Apartment, very well satisfied with the Entertainment of these Fathers.

About this Time, two *Mandaryns* came from the *Cham* to invite me to take the Diversion of seeing the City: Accordingly I mounted with my Retinue, and these *Mandaryns* conducted me to the Emperor's Elephant Stable, where stood fourteen of those Beasts, one of which was white: Having thus seen them, that was not enough, but they must shew several Tricks, and at the Command of the Master of the Stable, they roared like a Tyger, so dismally loud, that their very Stable seemed to tremble: Others

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lowed like an Ox, neighed like a Horse, and even sung like Canary-Birds ; but, which was most surprizing of all, some of them imitated a Trumpet. After this, they were oblig'd to pay their Respects to me on their four Knees, to lie down first on one Side, then on the other, then to rise up. When they lie down, they first strike out their fore Legs forward, and then throw out their hind Legs backward, and by this Means lie with their Bellies flat upon the Ground. One of these was not broken, and, by Reason he was very unruly, he was loaden with heavy Chains on two Feet, and, for the whole Time he had stood there, had not been removed from his Place ; and a great Pit was dug before his Stall, that in Case he broke loose, he should fall into it, and be prevented from coming into the Court to do any Mischief. All these Elephants were extraordinary large, and the Teeth of some of them were a full Fathom long. The *Mandaryns* told me, that they came from the King of *Siam*, who annually sends several, by Way of Tribute, to the Emperor of *China*. Their Food was only Rice Straw, bound up in small Trusses, which they take up one after another with their Trunk, and convey to their Mouths.

After a satisfactory Sight of what I desired, I rode with the *Mandaryns* to my Apartment ; and as we were on our Way, I observed at the Door of a considerable *Mandaryn*, and a great Officer, some Persons fleaing of a fat Dog ; upon which I ask'd the *Mandaryn*, wherefore that was done ; who answered, that it was a healthful Sort of Food, especially in Summer, it being very cooling. After I had handsomely treated these *Mandaryns*, they went away.

Next Day the Viceroy sent a Tyger, or Panther, in a Cage, to the Ambassador's Court, to be shewn to me ; as also several Jugglers with Monkeys and Mice, which had been taught several Tricks. These Apes, at their Master's Command, did really some very strange Things ; they filled a Basket with Stuff Coats of all Colours, each of which an Ape took out singly at his Master's Command, never missing the Colour which he was ordered to take out and put on, always varying his Grimace with his Habit ; after which, he not only danced upon the Ground, but on a

tight Rope, in a very diverting Manner. There were also two Mice fastened to their Chains, who, at their Master's Command, so entangled themselves in them, and immediately got loose, that it deserved Admiration : But what was most strange to me, was the odd Motions of these Vermine.

The *Jesuits* once told me, that about three Years past were sent to the Emperor, as a Present, from an Island in the Eastern Sea, four Animals as big as ordinary Horses, each of which had two sharp Horns prominent before ; and that these Fathers were sent by the Emperor's Order to his Park, about ten Miles from *Peking*, to see these Beasts, in order to inform his Majesty, whether they had ever seen any of them in *Europe* ; but returning, they affirmed, that they had never before seen any of that Species. I was indeed very desirous to have seen them, yet it being too far out of Town, and the Time of my Departure approaching, it was impracticable.

After I had sent my Compliment to the Viceroy, I desired that I might be advertiz'd of my Departure eight or ten Days before the Time, when it should please the Emperor that I should leave the Court and Royal City ; which, pursuant to my Request, was accordingly done some Days after.

Upon which, having made all necessary Preparations for such a long Journey, and latterly, according to former Custom, having one Morning in a Week eat at the Emperor's Table, I left *Peking*, accompanied out of the City Gate with a numerous Train of Great Officers of State, and *Mandaryns*, on the 19th of *February*, 1694, and on the 25th reached the City of *Galgan*, close to the *Daaurian* Wall. From thence we went on to *Naun*, and passed through several *Xixigarschean* Villages, to the *Tartarian* Frontiers, and the great Desarts, where we encamped and lay still several Days, and provided Saddles for our Camels, and all other travelling Necessaries, by Reason that to *Argum*, on the Frontiers of their *Czarish* Majesties Dominions, I was oblig'd to provide me with all Necessaries on my proper Cost, which I considered when in *Peking* ; and Camels and Mules being very cheap there, I carried a good Number of these

loose along with me, they, as well as the whole Caravan, travelling free, at the Expence of the *Chinese*, hitherto, as well as myself and whole Retinue, who eat at the Emperor's Charge thus far.

If I had not made this Provision before-hand, but had depended on the Camels and Horses which I left at *Nuna*, we should have fared but indifferently; for of all that I left there, scarce eight hundred remained, all the rest, which were a very considerable Number, being killed by the ill Forage and unwholsome Grass.

On the 2d of *February*, being ready to set forwards on my Journey, I treated the *Mandaryn* and his Retinue, who, by the Emperor's Command, had accompanied me thus far; after which, taking very civilly Leave of each other, we parted.

On the 26th Instant, in GOD's Name, we entered the great Desert, about the River *Sadun* and *Kallar*, being obliged to be on our Guard, by Reason that four *Mungessian Talischis*, or *Lords*, with about three thousand Men, were ready and willing to try their Fortunes with us: Upon which I gave all necessary Orders; and in the Night caused a strong Watch of sixty well armed Horsemen to be kept; but not encountering any Thing from that Quarter, we next Day set forwards on our Journey. Reaching the *Talischian* Mountains, we found our Forage grew worse the farther we went, and our Saddle as well as Carriage Beasts began to look thin. Having travelled a whole Day over these Mountains, the Night proved very cold and snowy, and the Grass grew yet worse, being that of last Year, which was dried up in the Field; so that the Camels, but more especially the Horses, though they eat their Fill, were not much strengthened by it. I here deliberated whether I should take the old Way, or a Bye-way, which was the safest Method that could be taken to escape the *Tartars*, who lay in Wait for us, and again proceed on Eastwards; Preferring Certainty to an Uncertainty, I pitched upon the last, which proved very inconvenient, especially for the Cattle.

We travelled but slowly through these steep, mountainous, and deep morassy Ways, and that Day twelve Camels

and fifteen Horses sunk under Foot, and for sixteen Days after we were obliged to wrestle with these difficult Ways, which daily occasioned several Camels and Horses to sink under their Loads and die; which happened from the heavy Burthens they were obliged to carry, as well as from the sapless and dry Grass, which afforded them no Nourishment. But our Difficulties increased with Respect to Forage, for our Cattle had Grass hitherto, which, though dry and not sufficient to satisfy, yet served to keep them alive; but now we came to Fields that were entirely burnt up by the *Tartars*, which forced us, how feeble and incapable soever our Beasts were to perform it, to dispatch two Days Journey this Day, in order to come to a Place where there was some Grass left.

Several of our Merchants, who lost their Saddle Horses, (their others being sufficiently laden with Merchandizes) were obliged to go on Foot; and if many of them had not been provided with spare Horses and Camels, we should have been obliged to have left a great Quantity of their Goods behind in the Wilderness.

After various Fatigues and Miseries, with the greatest Difficulty in the World, we at last reached the River *Sadun*, where our Quarters began to mend, in some Measure, and the tender Grass to sprout up a little. We lay still two Days by this River, in order to refresh our Camels and Horses, which were unable to have held out any longer. During this Repose, a *Chinese* Envoy, with an hundred armed Men, came up to me; who, by the Command of the Emperor of *China*, was, by the Viceroy of *Tartary*, dispatched from the City of *Mergeen*, with Orders to accompany me to *Nerzinskoy*, there to treat, concerning some Affairs, with the Governor. The Arrival of this Company was very welcome to us, for now we could make out full six hundred Men, and consequently had no Reason to fear any strolling Parties of Robbers.

On the 15th of *March* we arrived at the River *Kailaan*, which we forded, the Water being low; and passing about a Mile farther in a Dale, we pitched our Tents there, tho' there was but little Forage to be found: Yet we passed the

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Night here, and in the Morning discovered a terrible Smoak to arise out of the North-West, which gave me some Apprehensions that the *Tartars* having burnt up the old Grass, lurked under these Pillars of Smoak, in order to obtain an Opportunity to set upon us with great Numbers. To provide against this, I caused the Camels and Horses which were left us in this horrible Defart, betimes to be drove to a Place where there was some Grass, and which being behind a high Mountain, was securely sheltered from the Fire. After which, I caused an hundred Men to provide themselves with the Felts with which the Camels were covered, and be in Readiness, if the Smoak approached us, to disperse and drive it from our Camp as much as possible. Within the Space of half an Hour, the Air was wholly darkened with the Smoak, and the Fire driven on by a stormy Wind, flew swifter than a Horse could run, into the Vale, where the dry Grass was about half an Ell high; so that it was scarce possible either to escape or quench such a rapid Flame: The Fire flew, or rather flashed, by our Camp, as swift as Lightning; so that whilst I turned myself round, it was got to the short Grass, and behind the Brow of a Hill: Notwithstanding its speedy Flight, we did not clearly escape it, for the Flame laying hold of the foremost Row of Tents, immediately sent ten or twelve of them burning into the Air: Great Quantities of our Merchants Goods were consumed, and fourteen Men struck down by it, who were miserably burnt, and some of them taken up for dead; but, after necessary Care was taken for their Recovery, only one *Persian* died. I was myself in great Danger, and if I had not in Time run to a Hill where there was scarce any Grass, and been assisted by two Servants, who covered me with a Felt to keep off the Heat, I should not have escaped better than those above-mentioned.

The Flame was no sooner past us, than it visited the *Chinese* Ambassador, who was encamped at some Distance from us, amongst the Hills; where, to his good Fortune, there happened to be very little Grass, so that the Fire passed about and over the Hill, but was not violent enough to catch hold
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of any Thing, so that only their Horses Tails were a little burnt, or rather singed,

Before it was possible to have told two hundred, this Fire had reached the River *Kailaan*, (which was a Mile from our Encampment,) where it was quenched by the Interruption of the Water. After this Burning, the Land, as far as we could see from the Hills, was quite bare of Grass, and every where Coal black. Upon this Disaster, I sent out my Guide, to try whether he could discover any Place for us to encamp for that Night; he returned the next Day with Information that for two Days Journey all round, there was no Forage, the Fire having consumed it all; for though there were some few scattered Places which had escaped the Flame, yet there was not half Grass enough to satisfy such a Number of Camels and Horses as our's; which was but melancholy News for me and the whole Camp. Wherefore I consulted whether it was not most adviseable to repass the River *Kailaan*, where the Grass had escaped untouched; but in Opposition to this, the Danger of being fallen on by the *Tartars* which were on that Side of the River, offered itself; so that I rather inclined to chuse the travelling two Days in Want of Necessaries, than once more run the Risque of exposing ourselves to the Inhumanity of these Barbarians.

In the Morning then we broke up our Camp, which we pitched late that Night near a great Morass, after having endured a great deal of Misery and Fatigue that Day, by passing through Morasses and over steep Hills; which Hardship fell heaviest on the Cattle, insomuch that in this Day's Journey only, eighteen Camels and twenty-two Horses sunk into, and remained in the Morasses, not being able to stir a Step further, which fell very hard upon us; and the farther we went, rendered us the more uneasy, since we were as unwilling to leave our travelling Necessaries and Provisions behind us, as the Merchants were to throw away their Goods; wherefore the Remainder of the Beasts must necessarily be the heavier laden.

The next Day we also passed through Morasses, Vales, and other steep Hills, and came to the River *Mergeen*, where

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where the Grass was not burnt off. Having forded this River, and proceeded on our Journey, though in a miserable Condition, as well by Reason of the ill State of our Cattle, which daily sinking under their Loads, obliged us to leave them behind, as on Account of the Scarcity of Provisions for so many Men, our Stock being at present very low, and consisting barely in a few lean live Oxen, which Travellers generally take with them in these Sort of Journeys, but not either Bread, Peas, Barley, or other Provisions, because the Merchants and *Cossacks* wanted Beasts for the Carriage of their Goods, and it would have been too chargeable to lade Camels with Provisions.

There being but a small Number of Oxen in our Camp, the People began to be very anxious, considering it was not possible to reach *Argum* on the Frontiers in less than ten or twelve Days; so that each Person, according to the Company he was engaged in, began to compute how long what they had would last, and contrive how to manage his Share best.

On the 18th of this Month, with great Difficulty and Fatigue, we at last reached the River *Gan*, which at low Water we forded, and on the other Side found fresh Grass for the Beasts, with which we were very well pleased, and mightily encouraged. Here I resolved to lie still three Days, and would have rested longer, if the Merchants, *Cossacks*, and Workmen, had not complained that they were pinched by Hunger, and that there was but a very small Number of Oxen remaining, considering how many hundred Men were to be subsisted by them; and they, by Example, shewed me the best provisional Methods which could be taken to prevent an entire Famine; for as soon as an Ox was killed, they saved his Blood, and boiled it to the Consistence of Liver; this they eat instead of Bread. Others cut the Hides into Slips, shaved the Hair off, and toasted them at the Fire, and this passed at that Time for good Food. Nor were any Part of the Entrails thrown away, so that if the Scarcity had endured longer, possibly their Nature had been changed into that of *Cassers* or *Hottentots*, who eat not only raw Flesh, but even the Excrements also.

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In this Streight, being informed that the Country all about this River abounded with wild Game, as Harts, Roebucks, &c. I ordered some expert Archers to go a hunting; who proved so successful, that they shot about fifty Roebucks, which were afterwards distributed to our famished Company, who greedily devoured them half dressed and half raw, and gave a convincing Proof that Hunger, as it is commonly reported to be, is really a sharp Sword; but besides, it must be owned that the asswaging it when it has continued long and grown outrageous, is one of the greatest Pleasures of Life; though indeed a tedious Thirst is more intolerable and painful to Human Nature.

In this Streight I sent a Gentleman, accompanied with eight Cossacks, to *Argum*, the Frontier Place, charged with a Letter to the Governor, requesting that he would immediately send us a Parcel of Oxen, Sheep, Bread, Meal, and other Provisions, under Convoy, by Reason we were driven to the last Extremity; and this Message did not prove unsuccessful, though the expected Relief did not arrive so speedily as we could wish; each Day, on these melancholy Occasions, commonly appearing an insupportable Year.

Having dispatched this Messenger with his Orders, I thought it necessary to break up from the River *Gan*, and in the Interim to advance as far on our Way, and struggle as much as possible with our Uneasiness. And after we had travelled three Days, the hungry Complaints of our Company became incessant; the Roebucks were but a Morsel amongst such a Number of People, and no Eatables were to be bought for Money in this Wilderness. During which Affliction, we were obliged to make a Virtue of Necessity, and bear as well as we could, what we were not able to remedy. In this Condition, dispirited and faint, we arrived at a Brook which flowed from the Hills, and was richly stored with large Jacks, Trouts, and other Fish, of which we shot many with Bow and Arrow; for in clear Water the *Cossacks* and *Tunguzians* (of both which I had several) are such expert Archers, that with their double pointed Arrows they very seldom missed the Fish they aim'd at, and but once touching, generally pierce through them,

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which instantly causes them to float on the Surface of the Water. This Fishery afforded a very considerable Refreshment to our Camp, which was also increased by some Bucks being shot that Evening and dressed as before.

Our Hunters discovered a Hut amongst the Hills, where lived a *Schaman* or Conjuror and his Companion. This Magician was Uncle to our Guide, a *Tunguzian*, which Nation abounds with such Pretenders, as we have already hinted. About Midnight I was waked by a horrible Noise, upon which running out of my Tent, and asking the Centry that stood there, what it was? He told me our Guide was making merry with his Uncle; which excited my Curiosity to that Degree, that led by one of the Centries, I stole thither softly to see what they were doing; approaching the Entrance of the Hut, I found that they were Conjuring after their Manner; and though the greatest Part of it was over, I yet observed him sitting with an Arrow in his Hand, the Head of which was inclined towards the Earth, and the Point he held under his Nose; after which he rose up, making a loud Outcry, and after leaping all round, laid himself to sleep. My Messenger returned with the agreeable News, that within three Days we should be furnished with all Sorts of Provisions from *Argum*; the Approach of which appointed Time was not a little longed for amongst us.

On the third Day Heaven favoured us with our promised Assistance, which consisted of twenty-five Oxen and Cows, Millet and Bread; but the Sutlers that brought this Convoy of Provisions, made the Merchants pay so very dear for it, that their Relief looked more like Extortion than Charity; they took a *Rixdollar* for one Loaf, and for all the rest in Proportion; however, cost what it would, this Supply was very welcome to us at that Juncture.

Thus invigorated, and also encouraged to find that the farther we advanced on our Journey the Grass grew better, on we went, till through the Mercy of God we got to the End of this barren Desert.

On the 27th Instant we joyfully reached the River *Argum*, which with the whole Caravan we passed: And on the 31st arrived very safe at the City of *Nerzinskoy*, returning our

Thanks to Heaven, that through so many Dangers we were thus far advanced on our Way, and had got out of the Reach of pinching Necessity.

We departed from *Nerzinskoy* on the 5th of *August*, and proceeding forwards by Land along the River-side, came on the 8th Instant to the City of *Udinskoy*; where we furnish'd ourselves with Barks, and assisted by an ebbing Tide, and a good Wind, in one Night reached the Frontiers of *Siberia*, and on the 12th arrived safe at *Jekutskoy*.

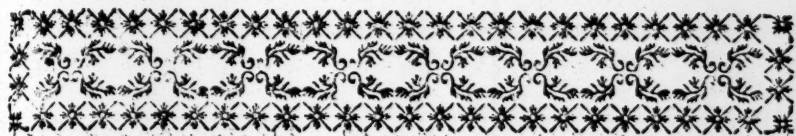
On the 17th we left that Place, and after running a great Risque by wading through the great Quantities of Water which were fallen, arrived safe at *Jenizetskoy*.

On the 26th we went by Land from this City, and travelled through a Wood twenty Miles long, in which were harboured several wild and ravenous Beasts, that at our Approach took their Flight.

After which we arrived at the Village *Makezkoy*, where finding as large a Store of Shipping as I desired, we all embarked, and driving down the River *Keta*, on the 28th of *September* we reached the Castle of *Ketskoy* on the *Oby*; on which we drove down without meeting any Thing remarkable, and on the 16th of *October* we came to the Town *Samoroffskoy Jam*, at the Mouth of the River *Jalis*, on which Stream I spent fourteen Days in waiting for Sleads to pursue our Journey by Land. I took the very first Opportunity, so that on the 29th I safely reached *Tobolskoy*, where we rested three Weeks to refresh, and to provide ourselves with new Cloaths.

On the 24th of *November* we travelled through the City of *Wergaturia*, without encountering any Thing observable, and through the Mercy of God, arrived in Sleads safe at *Moscow* on the first of *January*, after having spent two Years and ten Months in these Travels, and endured several fatiguing Miseries, where we returned Thanks to Almighty God for graciously preserving us in such imminent Dangers.

F I N I S.



T H E
V O Y A G E
O F
Ferdinand Maghianes, or Magellan,
F R O M T H E
South Seas *to the* East Indies.

(Being the first Voyage made round the World.)

FROM the Time of the Discoveries made under the Catholick King's Commissions, the *Portuguese* were excessively jealous of their Possessions in the *East Indies*, till at length the Pope interposed, and by a Bull, which had a decisive Authority among Princes of his own Communion, decreed all Countries in the East to *Portugal*, and all such as were found in the West to *Spain*: Yet this rather smothered than extinguished the Flames of Contention, both Princes continuing to listen willingly to any such Proposition, as tended to aggrandize one at the other's Expence; and this begat another Mischief, which was, that such enterprizing Men as were not gratified at one Court, immediately thought of applying themselves to the other; which,

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which, whether a greater Inconvenience to these Princes, or Advantage to *Europe*: in general, is not easy to be resolved. Amongst those who took this Method of raising their Fortunes, the most remarkable was the famous *Ferdinand Magellanes*, commonly called *Magellan*. He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Portugal*, and, having, from his Youth, addicted himself to maritime Affairs, he acquired a very great Skill, both in the Theory and Practice of Navigation. He seemed, indeed, to be formed by Nature for great Exploits, having all the Qualities requisite to compose a truly great Man; for, with a Courage which no Danger could affright, he possessed a Calmness of Temper, and a Sweetness of Disposition, which engaged such as conversed with him to esteem and love him. He was naturally eloquent, either in proving what he asserted, or in drawing others from their Opinions. But, above all, he had a Steadiness of Soul, and a Degree of manly Resolution, which not only enabled him to vanish the greatest Difficulties, but withal gave such an Air of Success to whatever he promised or undertook, as drew all who heard him to confide in him. These extraordinary Talents, as they would have distinguished him in any Station of Life, so they were remarkably useful in that, by which he acquired immortal Reputation.

Don Ferdinand Magellan had served with great Credit in the *Indies*, under the famous *Albuquerque*, and thought he merited some Recompence for those Services. The Great, however, differed from him in Opinion, and treated all his Applications, not with Coldness only, but with Contempt, which, to a Man of his Spirit, was intolerable. He therefore associated himself with Men of like Fortunes; that is to say Men of Merit that were neglected, particularly one *Ruy talero*, a great Astronomer, whom the *Portuguese*, out of Hatred, have represented as a Conjuror; and, in Conjunction with him, retired to the *Spanish* Court, and made Propositions of new Discoveries to Cardinal *Ximenes*. The *Portuguese* Ambassador, who was a Man of Parts, employed all the Means imaginable to defeat their Design. He solicited the Court to deliver them up as Fugitives; he got some Persons to inform the Ministry, that *Magellan* was a bold

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bold talkative Man, one ready to undertake any Thing, but who wanted Capacity and Courage when it came to performance. But underhand he caus'd Application to be made to *Magellan* himself, offering him Pardon, and great Rewards, if, desisting from his present Purpose, he would go back, and serve his own Prince. All this, however, signified very little; for these People expressed themselves to the *Spanish* Ministry, who were now very able Judges in these Matters, in such clear Terms, and with so much Probability as to the Discovery they propos'd, that they were immediately received into Favour, made Knights of the Order of *St. James*, and had their own Terms granted them.

The Grounds they went upon were these: That the Position laid down by *Columbus*, of the Possibility of coming to the *East Indies* by sailing *West*, was certainly true though he had not brought it to bear; and that such as derided that great Man's Notion, were not so well skilled in Navigation as he; that, without Question, it was very possible to sail from the *South Sea*, which was but just then heard of, to the *Molucca Islands*; and that it was very probable a Passage might be found into those Seas, through the *Rio de la Plata*, or some other Opening upon that Coast; that, in Case this could be done, *Spain* might reap the Profit of both *Indies*, since this being a Discovery made from the West, would fall expressly under the Words of the Pope's Bull. In consequence of these Proposals it was agreed, that the Undertakers should have the Twentieth Part of the clear Profits; that the Government of any Islands they should discover, should belong to them and their Heirs for ever, with the Title of *Adelantados*; and that, farther, the Crown should furnish them with five Ships, and two hundred and thirty-four Men, with Provisions for two Years. This Fleet of theirs consisted of the *Trinadada*, which was the Admiral, having on board *Stephen Gomez*, a *Portuguese* Pilot; the *Santa Vittoria*, commanded by *Don Lewis de Mendoza*; the *St. Antonio*, under *Don Juan de Carthagena*; the *St. Iago*, of which *Don Juan Serrano* was Commander; and the *Conception*, under *Don Gaspar de Quixida*. The Number of their
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Men according to some Authors, was 237: But most Writers make them 250, among whom there were thirty *Portuguese*, and upon these the Admiral chiefly depended, In Point of Skill he greatly relied on *Don Juan de Serrano*, who left the King of *Portugal*'s Service in the same Manner that *Magellan* himself had done, after having served many Years in the *Indies*, and some Part of the Time in the *Moluccas*, of which they were now going in Search. Great Hopes were conceived of this Voyage, from the known Experience of the Commanders: But the Secret of it remained closely lock'd up in the Bosom of the Admiral, who declared no more to the rest, than that he was fitted out to discover new Countries, which, as it implied in the Opinion of his Companions, that they were going to fetch home Gold, and other Riches, filled them with swelling Expectations, so that they left *Seville* with the most chearful Courage.

They sailed from *Seville* the 10th of *August*, A. D. 1519, and *October* the 3d arrived between the *Cape Verd* and the Islands of that Name; they spent a great deal of Time about the Coast of *Guinea*, and by tedious Calms, which lasted seventy Days, were so long labouring to cross the Line. But when they had done this, and the South Pole appeared above the Horizon, they held on their South Course, and Came upon the Main of *Brazil*, about that Part of it which lies in 22 Degrees. They observed it to be all one continued Tract of Land, higher from the *Cape St. Augustin*, which is in this Part of the Country. They found good Store of Fruits, Sugar-Canes, and divers Sorts of Animals, out of all which they had liberal Entertainment. Having made two Degrees and a Half more of South Latitude, they fell in with a Country inhabited by a wild Sort of People: They were of a prodigious Stature, fierce, and barbarous, made a horrible roaring Noise, more like Bulls than human Creatures; and yet, with all that mighty Bulk, were so nimble and light of Foot, that none of the *Spaniards* or *Portuguese* could overtake them. Here was a fine River of fresh Water, that had seven Islands in the Mouth of it, and was full seventeen Leagues wide in that Part. The biggest of those Islands yielded them some Jewels, and they gave

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it the Name of *St. Mary*. They continued coasting along this Tract of Land towards the South Pole, and met with a couple of Islands so full of Seals and Pengwins, that, in an Hour's Space, they could have laden all their five Ships. The Pengyngs are a black, heavy, unwieldy Fowl, extremely fat, covered over with a Sort of Down instead of Feathers, and armed with a Bill like a Raven's; they maintain themselves altogether out of the Waters, eating nothing but Fish: Their next Advance was to 49 Degrees and a Half South Latitude; here they were shut up by hard Weather, and forced to take up their Winter Quarters for no less than five Months.

They passed their Time in this Place but very unpleasantly, and for a long Time believed, that the Country was uninhabited: But at length they were undeceived as to this Point; for a Savage of the neighbouring Parts came up to give them a Visit; a brisk jolly Fellow, very merrily disposed, singing and dancing all the Way as he came: Being got to the Haven, he stood there, and threw Dust upon his Head; which they observing, sent some ashore to him, making the like Signs of Peace, upon that Assurance he came along with them to the Ship, without any Thing of Fear or Scruple. His Bulk and Stature was such, as would easily allow him the Character of a Giant; the Head of one of their middle-sized Men reached but to his Waist, and he was proportionable big: His Body was formidably painted all over, especially his Face; a couple of Stags Horns drawn, one upon each Cheek, and great red Circles about his Eyes; his Colours were otherwise mostly yellow, only his Hair was white. For his Apparel he had the Skin of a Beast clumsily sewed together; but a Beast as strange as that was that wore it, every Way unaccountable, neither Mule, Horse, nor Camel, but something of every one, the Ears of the first, the Tail of the second, and the Shape and Body of the last. 'Twas an intire Suit, all of one Peice from Head to Foot: As his Breast and Back were covered with it above, so his very Legs and Feet were wrapped up in the same beneath. The Arms that he brought with him were a stout Bow and Arrows, the String of the former was a Gut
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or Sinew of that monstrous Beast ; and the latter, instead of Iron Heads, were tipped with sharp Stones. The Admiral made him eat and drink, and he enjoyed himself very comfortably on Ship-board, till he happened to peep into a large Looking-Glass, that was given him amongst other Trifles : This put him into a Fright, which he could not easily recover ; so that, starting back with Violence, he tumbled a couple of the Men, that stood by him, to the Ground. However, this Giant fared so well amongst them, (notwithstanding the Fright by the Looking Glass) that quickly after they had the Company of more ; particularly one came, and made himself mighty familiar, carried it pleasantly, and with so much good Humour amongst them, that our *Europeans* were also pleased with his Company. He gave them a Sight of one of those Beasts whose Skins they wear.

The General was desirous of making some of these gigantic People Prisoners ; and in order to it, his Crew took the following Method : They filled their Hands with Toys, and little Things that pleased them, and, in the mean Time, put Iron Shackles upon their Legs, which they thought were very fine Play Things, as well as the rest, and were pleased with the jingling Sound of them, till they found how they were hampered and betrayed : But then they fell a bellowing like Bulls, and implored the Help of *Setebos* in that Extremity ; they cried aloud for his Assistance, but he did not come to deliver them ; and what Power it is they give that Name to, they best know. To desire his Help in Misery, implied some Notions conceived of his Goodness and Compassion ; and 'tis not to be imagined, that they would thus crave Relief of an Evil Spirit that used to vex and afflict them. Most of these People wore the same Sort of Apparel that the first appeared in, that is, the Skins of the fore-mentioned Beast : They go with their Hair short ; yet what there is, they tie up with Cotton Lace. They have no fixed Habitations, but certain moveable Cottages, which they carry from one Place to another, as their Fancy leads them ; and the very same Materials which they use for the Defence of their Bodies, they use also for the Defence and Covering of

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these Cottages : What Flesh they eat, they bestow no Ceremony of Dressing upon ; but devour it fresh and raw as it comes to their Hands : Besides which they have a certain sweet Root amongst them, called *Capar*, which is a considerable Part of their Food. They add also they are extremely jealous of their Women ; but they don't tell us they saw any of them.

Amongst them the Practice of Physick is reduced into a very narrow Compass, and takes in no more than Vomiting and Phlebotomy : These two Evacuations must answer a Variety of Cases and Purposes ; and, where this won't do, the Disease is incurable in that Land. Their way of Bleeding is to give a good Chop with some Edge Tool or other in the Part that is affected, be it Leg, or Arm, or Face. But though 'tis odd to use a Chopping-Knife instead of a Lancet, for letting Blood, yet it is more so, to thrust an Arrow, a Foot and an half down the Throat, to procure a Vomit. No doubt but this will prick the Fibres, and set a Man a reaching to some Purpose. These Folks are very strong : When they made an Attempt of taking some of them Prisoners, one alone very near tired the utmost Force of nine of their Men that were employed to master him ; and though they had him down and bound his Hands tightly, yet he freed himself from his Bonds, and got loose, in spite of all their Endeavours to hold him. And, proportionable to their Strength, is that also of their Appetite : One of them eat up a whole Basket of Ship-Biscuit at a Meal, and drank a Bowl (they don't say how large) of Water at a Draught ; but any Thing of this kind is not so very strange, considering the large Carcases they have to maintain. One Thing of them (which is something singular) is not to be omitted before we leave them ; and that is, that, by Reason of the vehement Cold, they truss themselves up so very close and tight, that the Genitals in the Men are not to be discovered, lying hid intirely within their Bodies. The Admiral gave these People the Name of *Patagons*, and took Notice of these few common Words : They call Bread, *Capar* ; Water, *Oli* ; Black, *Amel* ; Red, *Cheiche* ; Red Cloth, *Cberetai*. *Setebos*, and *Cheleule*, are the Names of

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Beings they pay a religious Respect to ; of which the former is the supreme, the latter an interior one : But whether they are proper Names, or only their Terms for a higher and subordinate Power in general, is not certain.

The Port they stayed in these five Months was called Port St. *Julian* ; of which, as of the whole adjoining Country, they took solemn Possession, and left a Cross erected in Token of it : because it was the Beginning of *October* by that Time they came up to the *Cape de Verd* Islands ; and they were detained so long by the Calms, that they made it *December* before they crossed the Line. But the main Reason of their staying so long here, was a Conspiracy that broke out among their Crew, not only some of the common Men, but some of the Captains also, and particularly Captain *Mendoza*, upon whom the General chiefly depended. The General acted in this Affair with great Spirit and Courage ; for, having subdued the Conspirators, he brought them to a Trial for plotting against his Life, hanged *Lewis de Mendoza*, and some few, who were most guilty ; and left *Juan de Carthagena*, and some others, who were not quite so deep, amongst the *Patagons*. The Weather growing fine, and the Crew once more brought into Subjection, *Magellan* thought it high Time to pursue his Course ; which he accordingly did. till he arrived in 51 Degrees 40 Minutes South Latitude. Here they found a convenient Port, and met with good Provisions of Fuel, Fish, and fresh Water ; they lingered away at this Place two Months more, and then came to fifty two Degrees South Latitude, where they discovered the Entrance into the Streights. They found them about 110 Leagues in Length, and as for the Breadth very uncertain, in some Places very wide, in others not more than half a League over ; the Land on both Sides high and uneven, and the Mountains covered with Snow. When they came to the End of it, they found an open Passage into the great Ocean. *Magellan* was surprized at the Sight, with a Joy that exceeded all common Bounds ; for this was the happy Thing he looked for, and now he was able to demonstrate his sailing round by the West. The Point of Land from whence he first saw this desirable Prospect, he called

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in Memory of it, Cape *Desiderato* ; but it seems it was not so desirable to all the rest of the Company ; for here one of the Ships stole away, and sailed homeward by herself. They entered the *Pacific Sea*, for so they called it, *November* the 28th *A. D.* 1520, and in this wide Ocean they sailed three Months and twenty Days, without Sight of Land. The Miseries they endured for Want of Provision a good Part of this Time, were such as are seldom heard of : the fresh Water they had on board stunk, and was very loathsome ; all their Bread was gone, and nothing left to eat but Pieces of Skins, and Bits of Leather. Nature will make any Shift, though ever so hard, to bear herself out in Distress, when 'tis possible to be done ; and the poor Seamen here, rather than starve, fell very greedily to work upon those dry tough Pieces of Leather that were about the Ropes of the Ships. But it being impossible to eat them before they were some way softened, and fitted for chewing, they laid them astleep in salt Water for some Days, and then made the best of them, as long as they lasted. But then again, what with this impure Sort of Feeding, which was but scanty too, and the daily Impoverishment of their Spirits wanting better Recruit, their Number shortened apace : Some died outright, others fell into pining Sickness, others had their Gums grew quite over their Teeth on every Side, by which Means being totally unable to manage those tough Solids they were forced to feed upon, they were past all Help, and so miserably starved to Death. Their only Comfort, under all these direful Circumstances, was a Constancy of fair and good Weather. The Winds blew them smoothly and gently along, and, while they were thus exposed, the Sea was calm and quiet too, and by this got the celebrated Name of *Pacific*. In all this Time they saw nothing but two uninhabited Islands, that gave no Prospect of any Relief. The Needle of their Compass varied sometimes ; and, at others, moved so irregular, that they were often forced to quicken it with a fresh Touch of the Loadstone. The South Pole they found to have no very remarkable Star near it, as the North has : There are two Clusters of small Stars, which are separated from each other at a small

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Distance ; between those are a couple of Stars, not very large or bright, which discover themselves, by the Smallness of the Circle they describe, to be pretty near the Pole, at least the nearest of any that are discernible. At the Distance of twenty Degrees from the South Pole they saw an Island of exceeding great Height, called *Cipangue*, and at 15 Degrees another as high, the Name of which is *Sumbdit*. They sailed in one Gulph at least 4000 Leagues ; and, having made, by their Reckoning, 120 Degrees Longitude from their first Departure, they found they drew towards the Equinoctial. When they had passed that Line, and were got to 13 Degrees North Latitude, they designed for the Cape, called by the old Geographers the Cape of *Cattigara* ; but this they missed, going upon that old Account of the Latitude of it, which places it thereabouts ; and came to understand afterwards, that it lies in 12 Degrees.

March the 6th they fell in with a Cluster of Islands, being then in 12 Degrees North Latitude, and 146 Degrees Longitude from their first setting out : Here they went on Shore to breathe and refresh a little after all the Fatigues of their tedious Voyage through the South Sea. But the thievish People of those Islands would not let them be quiet. While they were reposing themselves ashore, the others would be pilfering and stealing Things out of the Ships, so that 'twas impossible for them to enjoy themselves in any measure, till they had taken some Course to deliver themselves from these Disturbers. They marched therefore, with a small Party, pretty well armed, up into one of the Islands, burnt several of their Houses, and killed some of the Inhabitants ; but this Correction, though it might awe them for the present, yet could not mend their Disposition ; but they that were Thieves, would be Thieves still : For which Reason they resolved to make no longer Stay there, but find out some other Place, where they might enjoy more Safety and Quiet. Amongst these People there is not the least Shew of any Order or Form of Government, but every Man does what is agreeable to his own Humour and Inclination : Nay, considering how universally that thievish cheating Disposition prevails, 'tis next to impossible there should be any

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Thing of that Kind; for the governing Part would never fail to transgress the Laws of Justice and common Honesty, as much as the rest; and the Inferiors would never bear to be curb'd and punished by those that they saw do the very same Things, and set such an Example before their Eyes; so that the general Corruption of their Manners will necessarily keep them all upon a Level, and establish a perpetual Anarchy among them. The Men go intirely naked, not discovering any Thing of that common Modesty which obtains amongst the most barbarous People, to bestow some Covering upon the obscene Parts: That Distinction indeed ceases here, all Parts being equally exposed to View. Their Hair is very black, both on their Heads and Beards; the former being generally very long, and reaching down to their Waists. They anoint themselves all over with the Oil of Cocoa, but their natural Complexion is Olive: They colour the Teeth black and red; and some of them wear a Bonnet, made of the Palm-tree, upon their Heads. The Women are much better favoured than the Men, and more modest too; they all wear Coverings made of the inner Bark of the Palm-tree; their Hair black, thick, and long, and ready to trail upon the Ground: They commend them for very careful, industrious Housewives, spending their Time at a much better Rate than the Men do; for, whilst these are Pilfering abroad, the others are making Mats and Nets of the Palm-tree at home; but, of both Sides, the Work goes towards the Furnishing the House: These Houses are built of Timber, covered over with Boards and large Fig-leaves, and divided into several Apartments: Their Beds are the Palm-mats, laid one upon another; and the Leaves of the same are instead of Sheets and Blankets: They have no Weapons but Clubs, and long Poles, upon which they put Heads of Horn: Their Food is Cocoas, Bananas, Figs, Sugar Canes, Fowl, and Flying-Fish: Their Canoos are oddly contrived and patched up; yet they will sail with them at a very great Rate: The Sails are made of broad Date-Leaves sewed together; instead of a Rudder, they use a large Board, with a Staff at the Top; and may, when they will, make the Stem the Forecastle, or
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the Forecastle the Stem : They are always painted over, either black, or white, or red, some one Colour, and some another, as they like. These People are mightily taken with any little Thing that is new, and agreeable to their Humour : When the Spaniards had wounded several of them with their Arrows, nay, pierced them almost through and through, these being strange Things to them, they would pull them out of their Wounds, and hold them in their Hands, staring at them till they dropt down dead ; and, after all, though they had been so roughly handled, yet they would follow the Ships, as they were going away, to gaze at them, so that there were at one Time 200 of their Canoes about them, pressing as near as they could, to behold those wonderful Contrivances.

March the 10th they landed upon the Island of *Zamal*, which is 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones* ; and the next Day they went ashore at *Humuna*, an Island not inhabited, yet well deserving to be so: Here they found Springs of delicate clear Water, abundance of Fruit-trees, Gold, and white Coral. The Admiral called it the Island of *Good Signs*. The Inhabitants of some of the neighbouring Islands came up to them not long after, a People of much Humanity, and good Disposition ; very fair and friendly in their Carriage, and appeared to be mighty well pleased at their coming among them : They came laden with Presents of Fish, and the Wine made of the Cocoa-tree, and promised other Provisions in a little Time. Since the Cocoa-wine is mentioned, it may not be amiss to shew the various Uses these People put that Fruit to ; by which it will appear, how very serviceable a Thing it is, and how many of the Conveniences of Life are furnished by it : The Cocoa is the Fruit of a certain Tree like a Date, and supplies them at once with Bread Oil, and Vinegar, and with Physick too. The Wine is drank from the Tree itself, but all the rest are made from the Fruit ; they cut off some Part of a Branch of the Tree, and fasten to the remaining Piece a good large Reed, into which drops a Liquor like white Wine in Colour and Appearance, and of a Taste gratefully tart : A good Quantity of this, thus drawn forth, and put in a Vessel, is called their

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Cocoa-wine, without any farther Preparation. The Fruit, which is as big as a Man's Head, has two Rinds; the outermost of which is green, two Fingers thick, and full of Strings and Threads, and of these they make all the Cords they use about their Boats; under this Rind there is another, or rather a Shell, being considerably thick and hard; this burnt and pulveriz'd, is used as a Remedy for several Distempers: To it adheres the Kernel, which is white, and of the Thickness of a Finger; it has a pleasant Taste, almost like an Almond; and, when it is dried, they make it into Bread: In the Middle of this Kernel there is a Hollow, full of pure limpid Water, and that of a very cordial and refreshing Nature: It will sometimes congeal, and lie like an Egg within the Shell. When they would make Oil, they leave the Fruit to steep in Water, till it putrefies; and then set it over the Fire, and boil it to an Oil; and the Vinegar is only the same Water, exposed for some Time to the Sun, which turns it into Vinegar, like that of white Wine. Lastly, if they mix the Kernel, together with the Water that is lodged in the Cavity of it, and then strain it through a Cloth, they make a good Milk of it. The Cocoa-trees resemble the common Date Trees in all but this, that they are not so rugged and knotty as they are. They will hold out very well 100 Years; and two of them will maintain a Family of ten People with Wine very plentifully, provided they are used by Turns, and each Tree, having been drawn seven or eight Days, be allowed as many to recover again, before any more be taken from it. With this Care such a Number of People may drink as much as they will, and the Tree bear them out. But to return to our Concerns between this People and them: According to their Promise, they came again with other Provisions, and enter'd into a farther Degree of Familiarity and friendly Correspondence with them; they invited the Admiral into their Barks, and were reciprocally invited aboard the Admiral's Ship, where a great Gun being discharged to entertain them, it put them into such Affright, that they were all ready to leap overboard; but good Words and Presents brought them to themselves again, and with much ado they were persuaded

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suaded to keep out of the Water. The Name of their Island was *Zulvan*, of no very great Compass, but considerable for its Products : They had all Manner of Spices in their Barks, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Ginger, and Mace, and several Things made in Gold, all which they carried up and down, and sold for Merchandize : They were without Apparel, but yet drest at a more costly Rate than the *Europeans*, that had it: They had Ear Rings of Gold in each Ear, and several Jewels, fastened, with Pieces of Gold, to their Arms : besides, they had Daggers, Knives, and Lances, that were all very richly ornamented with the same Metal : But though they had nothing of any Garment on, yet they had something of a Covering before, and that of a Sort of Cloth very ingeniously made out of the Rind of a Tree that grows amongst them. The most considerable Men are distinguished from the common People by a Piece of silken Needle-work wrapped about their Heads. They are gross-bodied, broad and well set, of an olive Colour ; and this Hue they maintain by constant Unction of their Bodies with the Oil of Cocoa. They departed from this Isle *March* the 25th, *A. D.* 1521, and directed their Course between the West and South-west, sailing between the Isles *Cenala*, *Huinanghan*, *Hibussou*, and *Abarian*.

March the 28th, they came to the Isle of *Butbuan* ; the King of which and the Prince his Son, gave them honourable Entertainment, presenting them with great Quantities of Gold and Spices. The Admiral, in Return, presented the King with two Vests of Cloth, one red, and the other yellow, made after the *Turkish* Fashion ; and some of his Courtiers with Knives, Glasses, and Beads of Crystal. The Admiral sent two of his Company ashore along with him, of which *Antonio Pigafetta*, who wrote this Relation, was one. When they were landed, the King and his Attendants all lifted up their Hands to Heaven, and then towards the two Christians, in which Ceremony these also followed them ; and this Custom they observed in drinking too. His Majesty's Palace was like a Hay-loft covered with Palm and Fig-leaves; mounted so high upon great Timber Posts, that they were forced to use Ladders to get in. Though they are no Christians,

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tians, yet, at their Meals, they always make the Sign of the Cross, sitting in the same Manner with their Legs as Taylors do. At Night, instead of Candles, they burn the Gum of a certain Tree wrapped up in Palm-leaves: The King and Prince, having entertained them in their several Palaces, and given them noble Presents, dismissed them, but not without new Admiration, and a firm Persuasion now rooted in their Minds, that they were above the Rank of common Mortals, having seen so many strange Things among them; especially *Pigafetta's* Writing, and Reading what he had written, which were Mysteries they could not comprehend. In the Island of *Butkuan*, as they sited the Earth of a certain Mine, they found great Lumps of Gold, some as big as Nuts, others as large as Eggs; of which Metal were all the king's Vessels for his Table made. The King himself was a very comely Person, his Hair black and long, his Complexion olive, his Body perfumed with sweet Oils of Storax and Benjamin, and painted with divers Colours; he had Rings of Gold in his Ears, and on every Finger three; his Head was wrapped with a silken Veil, and a Piece of Cotton, wrought with Silk and Gold, covered his Body to the Knees. He wore a long Dagger by his Side, with a Haft of Gold, and a Scabbard of fine carved Wood. His Country, it seems, was so rich, that one of his Subjects offered a Crown of massy Gold, with a Collar, for six Threads of Crystal Beads: But the Admiral would not permit such Bargains as these, that they might not appear to be too fond and covetous of their Gold. The People are of an active and sprightly Nature; the Men quite naked, except a Covering of Paint; but the Women go cloathed from the Waist downwards, and both wear Gold Rings: They are always chewing Arecca, and say, they cannot live without it; this is a Sort of Fruit like a Pear, cut in Quarters, and rolled up in the Leaves of a Tree called *Betele*, which are almost like Bay-leaves. As for religious Rites, they had, as far as they observed, no other Use amongst them, but only to lift up their Faces, and Hands joined together, to Heaven, and call upon their God *Abba*. The Admiral caused a Banner, in which was the Portraiture of the Cross, and a Crown of

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Thorns with Nails, to be brought forth, and publicly revered by all his Men in the King's Presence, telling his Majesty, it should be set up in some high Mountain in his Country ; not only for a Token of good Entertainment for Christians in that Place, but also for his own and Nation's Defence ; since, if they devoutly prayed to it, it would infallibly protect them from the Mischiefs of Lightening and Tempest, as well as from other Evils : This the poor Prince promised to do, knowing no better, and glad to be so defended from Thunder-bolts.

At their Departure from hence, this King's Pilots brought them to the Isles of *Zeilon*, *Zubut*, *Messana*, *Calagban*, of which *Zubut* is the best, and has the best Trade. In *Messana* they found Dogs, Cats, Hogs, Hens, Goats, Rice, Ginger, Cocoa, Millet, Panic, Barley, Figs, Oranges, Wax, and Gold, in great Plenty : This Island lies in nine Degrees forty Minutes of North Latitude, and 162 Degrees of Longitude from their first Meridian. They stayed here eight Days, and then, sailing to the N. W. passed by the Isles *Zeilon*, *Bobol*, *Cangbu*, *Barbai*, and *Calegban*, in which last Isle there are Bats as big as Eagles, and that taste, when dressed, like a Hen ; there are also Stock-doves, Turtle-Doves, Popinjays, and a certain Sort of Fowl like Hens, which have little Horns, and lay their Eggs a Cubit's Depth in the Sand, where the Sun's Heat hatches them. From *Messana* to *Calegban* is about 20 Leagues sailing to the West ; and from *Calegban* to *Zubut* about 50 Leagues, to which they now directed their Course, having the Company of the King of *Messana*, who, out of pure Friendship, went along with them ; the Admiral having by many Services secured his Affection.

April the 7th, about Noon, they entered the Port of *Zubut* ; and, coming near the City, fired all the great Guns, which put the Place into a very great Consternation : But all this Apprehension of Danger from the Ships was quickly removed, by the coming of their Ambassador to the Town, who assured the King, that it was customary with them to discharge their Cannon, whenever they came into any great Ports ; and that it was a Piece of Respect they always paid

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to the Governors of Towns : He told him, how mighty a Prince they were Servants to ; and that their Design was to find out the *Moluccas* ; that they only came to visit him by the Way, hearing of his Fame by the King of *Messana* ; and desired him to furnish them with Victuals for the Commodities they had brought. The King bid them welcome, but told them, that it was a Custom there for all Ships that came to pay Tribute ; and that he expected the like Acknowledgement from them. This the Ambassador positively refused, telling him, that his Admiral was the Servant of so great a King, that as he had never yet, so he would not now begin to make that Acknowledgement to any Prince in the World ; and withal, that if he would accept of Peace offered to him, well ; if not, he should quickly have his Hands full of War. A certain *Moor*, that stood by him, told the King, that these were the *Portuguese* that had conquered *Calecut* and *Malacca*, and therefore advised him to have a Care how he provoked them. Upon this Consideration, the king concluded to refer the Matter to his Council, and to give Answer the next Day, sending them in the mean while Wine and Victuals. The king of *Messana*, who was a very potent Prince, went next ashore, and acted very generously on their Behalf with the king of *Zubut* ; the Effect of which was, that the king, instead of demanding, was now almost ready to pay Tribute himself ; which they not at all insisting upon, but desiring only Liberty to trade, he cheerfully granted it, and offered to seal the Covenant of Peace and Friendship with his Blood. After this, the king of *Messana*, the king of *Zubut*, and his Nephew, came on board the Admiral, brought him Presents, and confirmed the League. The Admiral persuaded them to embrace the Christian Faith, which they did, after some religious Conferences, with Pleasure, being afterwards all baptized. This Example of the great Ones influenced the whole Island, so that Christianity was universally received there. When they came to the City, they found the King in his Palace, sitting upon a Sort of fine Mat made of Date-leaves, having no Apparel but a Bombasine Cotton about his Waist : About his Head he had a Veil of Needle-work, and about his

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Neck a very costly Chain, as also stately Jewels in his Ears; He had before him several Porcelane Vessels, some with Eggs, and others full of Date-wine. The Prince entertained them likewise at his Palace; and, for their Diversi-
on, made his Daughter sing and dance naked before them. One of the *Spaniards* dying, they desired Leave of the king to bury him in his Land: To which the king replied very graciously, *That since he, and all his, were at the King their Master's Devotion, much more should a few Feet of his Ground be so, in affording a Burying-place to one of his Subjects.* These People exercise Justice in their Dealings, with one another, keeping to the Use of Weights and Measures. Their Houses are made of Timber, raised high upon Posts, so that they go up Stairs to them. They talk of a certain Sort of Water-fowl in this Country, as big as a Crow, which they call *Lugban*, which the Whales sometimes swallow down alive, and have their Hearts eaten up by this Bird; by which Means many of them are killed, and the Bird is afterwards found alive in the Carcase of the Whale: The Skin of this Fowl is black, but the Flesh good. The *Spaniards* had a very advantageous Bartering with those People, they giving them ten Pesos of Gold (a Ducat and Half each) for fourteen Pounds Weight of Iron, besides all Sorts of Provisions for very Trifles. The baptizing of those Princes was performed with very great Solemnity, the Ordinance being all discharged; which the Admiral told the king beforehand, to prevent his being surprized. The king of *Zubut* was named *Charles*, and the Prince *Ferdinando*; the former of those Names being the Emperor's, and the latter his Brother's. The king of *Messana* was named *John*, and the *Moorish* Courtier *Christopher*: Besides the Princes and great Men, there were five hundred of inferior Rank baptized at the same Time, All the Idols were broken, and the Cross set up in divers Places, which the Admiral engaged them to pray very devoutly before, Morning and Evening: The Queen was baptised too at the same Time, with forty of her Ladies, and her Daughter the Prince's Wife: She was young and handsome, her Body covered with a white Cloth, and her Head adorned with a Sort of
triple

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triple Crown made of Date-leaves: After Mass was ended, the King and Court dined in the Admiral's Ship, in Honour of whom all the great Ordnance were discharged. In eight Days Time most of the Island became Christians, except one Village of Idolaters, who would not obey the King's Command in this Matter: The *Spaniards* therefore burnt the Village, and erected a Cross upon the Ruins of it; and, to shew the good and advantageous Effects of Christianity amongst the People that had embraced it, a very miraculous Cure was wrought upon the king of *Zubut's* Brother, upon his receiving Baptism. The Admiral, it seems, pawned his Head for his immediate Recovery, if he would submit to this sacred Rite, and break all his Idols. And they who record these Transactions say, that the Admiral did save his Pawn, the Prince perfectly recovering of his Malady soon after he was thus initiated into the Christian Religion.

Not far from *Zubut* lies the Isle of *Matban*, the Inhabitants of which go quite naked, except a slight Covering over the Pudenda, at which Part all the Males, both great and small, hang certain Gold Rings, the Skin being pierced for that Purpose: They take as many Wives as they please, one of which only has the Government of the House. They use very odd Ceremonies in their Sacrifices to the Sun; they begin with ringing Bells, then they spread a Cloth upon the Ground, upon which are set certain Platters with Honey, Rice, and roast Fishes. The Sacrifice they offer is an Hog, and the Managers of the Ceremony are two old Women, who sing and dance about the Animal, and sound Trumpets made of Reeds. They mumble out certain Prayers to the Sun, and, after several antic and ridiculous Gestures, they pour a Cup of Wine upon the Hog: One of the venerable Priestesses strikes the fatal Blow with a Lance, and then puts a lighted Lamp into the Creature's Mouth, which continues burning all the Time of the Ceremony: The other dips the Reed Trumpet in the Blood, and with her Finger besmears her Husband's Forehead, and then the Foreheads of the rest of the Men who assist at the Sacrifice; When they have done, they disrobe themselves of their priestly Attire,

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tire, and fall to eating the Honey, Rice and Fish, in which only the Women partake with them: As for the Flesh of the Hog, that is not to be touched till the two Priestesses have craved a Blessing on it. As for their Funerals, their Ceremonies are almost as extravagant as those of their Sacrifices: When a Man of Figure dies, all the chief Women go to his House, and carry Boughs with Pieces of Cotton in them, which they fasten about the Corps; they sit round it cloathed in white Cotton, fanning themselves with Branches of Palm, the Room being incensed with Myrrh and Storax all the while: Then a Person comes, and cuts off the Hair of the Deceased by little and little; and at the same Time, his chief Wife lies upon the dead Body with her Face, Hands, and Feet to his, crying and lamenting while his Hair is cut off; but she changes her Funeral Notes into a merry Song when the other has done Cutting: The Ceremony lasts five Days, after which they inclose the Corps in a Dormitory built of Wood, and made very fast on every Side.

This Isle of *Matkan* was governed by two Kings; one of which refusing to pay Tribute to the king of *Spain*, the Admiral went out to reduce him. The *Indian* had between six and seven thousand Men, armed with Bows and Arrows, Darts and Javelins, which Army the Admiral attacked with sixty of his *Spaniards*, armed with Coats of Mail and Helms. The Battle was for a long Time doubtful: At last the Admiral's Heat and Courage carrying him too far amongst the Barbarians, he was there first wounded with a poisoned Arrow, and afterwards thrust into the Head with a Lance, which ended the Life and Actions of this noble Commander. About eight or nine of his Men were slain, and about fifteen of the Enemy, besides many wounded. The *Spaniards* would very willingly have redeemed the Body of their Admiral, but the *Indians* would not consent to it upon any Terms. This, however, was but the Beginning of their Misfortunes; for the king, as he had embraced their Religion without understanding it, abandoned it upon this Change in their Circumstances; and made Peace with his Rival, notwithstanding one of the Articles insisted upon was, that all the Strangers should be instantly put to Death.

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The barbarous Monarch was sensible enough, that by Force he should never be able to execute this infamous Article, and therefore he had Recourse to Fraud. With this View, he invited all the *Spaniards*, that were on Shore, to a sumptuous Entertainment; and there, in the midst of their Feasting, he directed them to be most cruelly murdered, reserving only *Don Juan Serrano* alive, in order to have procured a Supply of Artillery and Ammunition by way of Ransom for him. With this Demand of his the *Spaniards* would willingly have complied, but found so much Prevarication and Treachery in his Management, and, at the same Time, were so much intimidated by the Fate of their Companions, that they resolved to break off the Treaty, and put to Sea. The unfortunate *Serrano*, when he saw them about to weigh their Anchors, threw himself on his knees; and, in the most moving Terms, begged of them not to leave him in the Hands of so base a People: But their Fears, or rather their Cares for their own Preservation, made them deaf to his Intreaties, especially when, on a Muster, they found their whole Force consisted but of eighty Men, that their Ships were in a miserable Condition, and that, in order to have a Probability of returning Home, it would be necessary to destroy one Ship, to make use of her Stores and Materials in repairing the other two. What the Fate was of *Serrano*, after their Departure, is not known: but it is certain, the Loss of him proved a very great Hinderance to their Voyage, since, next to the Admiral, he was the bravest Man, and the best Seaman, they had, one of the Projectors of this Voyage, and who, if he had lived to return, would have animated the Imperial Court to future Expeditions.

A little before the Admiral's Death, they received News of the *Moluccas*, the discovering of which, this Way, was the great End of their Voyage: So that now leaving *Matban*, they sailed to the Isle of *Bobol*; and here they burnt the *Conception*, furnishing the other two Ships with the Men and Ammunition of it. Directing their Course from hence to the South West, they came to the Isle *Pavilogton*, inhabited by Blacks: From hence they came to *Chippit*, which is a large Isle; and it is about 50 Leagues from *Zubut*, in
8 Degrees

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8 Degrees of North Latitude, and about 170 Degrees of Longitude from their first Stage. It abounds in Rice, Ginger, Goats, Hogs, Hens, &c. and the king of it gave them a friendly Reception. In Token of Peace he marked his Body, Face, and Tip of his Tongue, with Blood, which he drew out of his left Arm; and the *Spaniards* followed him in that bloody Ceremony. Sailing from hence about 40 Leagues, between the West and South West, they came to *Cagbaian*, a very great Island, but not well inhabited: The People are *Moors*, Exiles from *Borneo*, rich in Gold, and, for their principal Weapons, use poisoned Arrows, which is practised also in most of the Islands. Steering West and North West 25 Leagues, brought them to *Puloan*, a very fruitful Island, lying in 9 Degrees 20 Minutes North Latitude, and 179 Degrees 20 Minutes of Longitude, from their first Departure: It yields much the same Products as *Chippit*, besides very large Figs, Battatos, Cocoas, and Sugarcanes. The like Ceremonies also were here used in Token of Friendship between the King and the *Spaniards*, as were used at *Chippit*: The People go naked, use poisoned Arrows, and are mighty Lovers of the Sport of Cock-fighting: They make a Sort of Wine here of Rice, which is very intoxicating, but otherwise better than that of Palm.

The famous Isle of *Borneo*, to which they came next, is a very large and rich Island: It lies in 5 Degrees 5 Minutes of North Latitude; the chief City contained no less than twenty-five thousand Houses. The king was a *Moor*, a Prince of very great Power, kept a magnificent Court, and was always attended by a numerous Guard. He sent the Captains several Presents, and ordered a Couple of Elephants, trapped with Silk, to be led forth to bring the *Spanish* Messengers and Presents to the Palace: He has ten Secretaries of State, that write his Affairs in Barks of Trees: His Household is governed by Women, who are the Daughters of his chief Courtiers: His Subjects pay him their Reverence, by lifting up their Hands closed three Times over their Heads, then lifting up their Feet one after the other, and lastly kissing their Hands: They chew a great deal of the Betele of this Country, and drink a Rice Spirit called by

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them *Arac*. The Country affords Camphire, which is the Gum of the Tree Capar; also Cinnamon, Ginger, Myrobalans, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar, Cucumbers, Melons; plenty of Fowl and Beasts, and whatever can be expected in that Climate.

Leaving *Borneo*, they came to the Isle *Cimbubon*, which lies in 8 Degrees 7 Minutes of North Latitude: Here they stayed forty Days calking their Ships, and taking in fresh Water and Fuel. The Isle abounds with Ostriches, wild Hogs, and Crocodiles. They took here a Fish, headed like a Swine, with two Horns; its Body all one intire Bone, and something like a Saddle on its Back. They sailed from hence by the West towards the South-east for the *Moluccas*, and in their Way found the Sea full of Weeds and Herbs: This was near certain great Mountains. This Course brought them to the Isles of *Solo Taghima*, which afforded very fine Pearl: From hence it was that the King of *Borneo* got a Couple of Pearls, as round, and very near as big, as a Hen's Egg.

They came next to harbour in the Isle *Sarangani*, reported to yield both Gold and Pearl; and here they pressed two Pilots for their *Molucca* Voyage. They passed the Isles *Ceana*, *Canida*, *Cabiaio*, *Camuca*, *Cabalu*, *Chiai*, *Lipan*, and *Nuza*; and came to a fair Island, called *Sanger*, in 3 Degrees 20 Minutes of North Latitude; which Isle had four Kings. Having passed five other Islands, they at last espied a small Cluster of five Islands, which their Pilots said were the *Moluccas*. This was the 6th of *November*, and the 27th Month after their Departure from *Spain*. They tried the Depth of the Sea, with their Plumbet, about these Islands, and found it no less than 102 Yards; which shews, that the *Portuguese* designed none else should come thither but themselves, when they told the World, that those Seas were so shallow, that there was no sailing there, besides the other Dangers of Rocks and Shelves, and continual Darkeness.

November the 8th, before Sun-rising, they entered the Port of *Tiridore*, which is one of the Chief of the *Moluccas*. The King was a *Moor*, but notwithstanding the Prejudices of his Religion, so extremely fond of the *Spaniards*, and so

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much devoted to the Service of their Master, that he bid them come ashore into their own Country and Houses, called them his Brethren and Children; nay, in Compliment to them, changed the Name of his Kingdom from *Tiridore* into *Castile*. The *Moluccas* are five in Number, *Ternate*, *Tiridore*, *Mutir*, *Macbian*, and *Bacbian*; of all these *Ternate* is the Chief, and the King of it was once Lord of all the rest. *Mutir* and *Macbian* were then Commonwealths, but *Bacbian* a Monarchy. The Clove Trees here are very tall, and as big about as a Man; the Boughs large in the Middle, and sharp at the Top; the Leaves like those of Bay Trees, and the Bark of an Olive Colour. The Cloves grow in large Clusters at the Tops of the Boughs; at first they are white, red when they come to Maturity, and grow Black by after-drying; the Leaf, Bark, and Wood, being green, is as strong as the Clove itself: They gather them twice a Year, in *June* and *December*; and, if they don't take them in Time, they grow very hard. Every Man has his own peculiar Trees, but they bestow but little Husbandry upon them. They have also in this Isle a Sort of a Tree, the Bark of which being steeped in Water, may be drawn out in small Fibres to the Fineness of Silk; and of this the Women make a Sort of Aprons, which is all the Covering they make use of.

Near *Tiridore* lies the great Isle *Gilolo*, which is divided between *Moors* and *Heatbens*: The two Kings of the *Moors* have contributed themselves very liberally to the Peopling of the Island, the one of them having 600, and the other 650 Children. The *Pagans* were more abstemious in these Matters, as well as less superstitious in other Respects, than the *Moors*; yet they report of them, that they adore the first Thing they see in the Morning. In this Isle there is a Sort of Reed grows as big as a Man's Leg, and full of a very limpid Water, which makes a wholesome Drink. *November* the 12th, a public Warehouse was appointed in the City for the Sale of their Merchandize: The Exchange at the following Rates; for ten Yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, every Bahar being four Cantars, and six Pounds, and every Canter 100 lb.

Weight:

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Weight : For fifteen Yards of a meaner Cloth, they had in *Cambie* one Bahar : For thirty-five drinking Glasses, one Bahar : For seventeen Cathyls of Quicksilver, one Bahar. They brought all Sorts of Provisions daily to their Ships, and a Sort of fresh Water, that springs out of the Mountains where the Cloves grow. It is hot when it comes out of the Spring, but very cold when it has stood awhile in some other Place. They received here a very singular Present for the King of *Spain* from the King of *Bacbian*, which was a Couple of dead Birds, about the Bigness of Turtles, with very little Heads and Legs, long Bills, two or three long Feathers, parti-coloured at their Sides, instead of Wings ; their whole Bodies besides of one Colour, and that near a Tawny ; they never fly, but when the Wind blows to help them ; the *Moors* fancy they come down from Paradise, and therefore call them the Birds of God. As for all the *Moluccas* in general, their Products are Cloves, Ginger, Rice, Sagu-bread, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Popinjays, white and red Figs, Almonds, Pomegranats, Oranges, and Lemons, and a Sort of Honey which is made by Flies less than Ants ; besides Sugar-canes, Oil of Cocoas, Melons, Gourds, and a Fruit which they call Camulical, which is extremely cold. The Natives of these Islands were all *Heathens*, the *Moors* having not had Footing there above fifty Years before the *Spaniards* came. The Isle *Tiridore* is in about 27 Minutes North Latitude, and 170 Degrees Longitude from their first Meridian, and about 9 Degrees 30 Minutes from the *Archipelago*, in which are the *Ladrones*, and run to the Quarters of South-west and N. N. E. *Ter-nate* is in four Minutes of South Latitude ; *Mutir* is directly under the Equinoctial ; *Machian* is in fifteen Minutes of South Latitude ; and *Bacbian* in one Minute ; and this Isle is the Biggest of all the *Moluccas*. When they departed from hence, they had the Kings of several Islands attending them in their Canoos. They were conducted by them to the Isle *Mare*, and there this Royal Company took their Leaves of them, not without great Sorrow. In this Isle they left a leaking Ship behind them, giving Orders, if it could be repaired, for its Return into *Spain*.

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They directed their Course to the South-west from *Mare*, being now no more in Number than forty-six *Spaniards*, and thirteen *Indians*. They passed the Isles of *Cbacouan*, *Lagoma*, *Sico*, *Gioghi*, *Capbi*, *Sulacho*, *Lumatola*, *Tenetum*, *Buru*, *Ambon*, *Budia*, *Celaruri*, *Benaia*, *Ambalao*, *Bandon*, *Zorobua*, *Zolot*, *Moceunamor*, *Galian*, and *Mallua*, besides many others possessed by *Moors*, *Heathens*, and *Canibals*. They staid at *Mallua* fifteen Days, repairing their Ships. It lies in 8 Degrees of South Latitude, and 169 Degrees 40 Minutes Longitude, according to their Reckoning. There grows a great deal of Pepper there, both long and round; the Leaves of the Tree are like Mulberry-leaves, and climbing like Ivy. The People are perfect Canibals, the Men wear their Hair and Beards put up in Canes; and, for Weapons, use only Bows and Arrows. *January* the 25th, 1552, leaving *Malua*, they arrived at *Tima*, which is five Leagues distant between the South and South-west; here they found Ginger, the Wood of white Sanders, divers Fruits, and Beasts, Gold, and plenty of all Sorts of Provisions: The People of the *Moluccas*, *Java*, and *Lozen*, fetch their Sanders from this Island. It lies in 10 Degrees South Latitude, and 174 Degrees of Longitude. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and have among them, which is also common to all the Isles of the *Archipelago*, the Distemper we call the Vene-real Disease. Sailing a long Course from hence, between the West and North-west, they came to the Isle of *Eude*, which yields great Store of Cinnamon. In this Tract of Sea there is a long String of Islands lying in Order, behind one another, as far as the *Greater Java*, and the Cape of *Mallaca*, About half a League from this *Greater Java*, lies *Java the Less*, which is full as big as the Island of *Madeira*. *February* the 11th, sailing from *Timor*, they got into the great Sea *Lantchidol*, and steered away between the West and South-west, leaving the North Coast on their Right Hand, taking care not to sail too near the Shore, lest the *Portuguese*, who were settled at *Malacca*, should chanee to discover them; and, on this Account, they directed their Course without the Isle of *Sumatra*. And, that they might pass the Cape of *Good-Hope* more securely, they sailed about

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42 Degrees toward the South Pole, waiting in those Parts seven Weeks for the Wind. The Cape of *Good-Hope* they observed to be in 34 Degrees 15 Minutes of South Latitude, and 1600 Leagues from the Cape of *Malacca*.

But, having past all Dangers of the Cape, being smartly pinched with Hunger and Sicknes, some of them were for putting in at *Mozambique* for a little Refreshment; but the major Part of the Company concluding, that the *Portuguese*, who were there, would prove but untoward Physicians for their Distempers, they resolved to sail homewards: This they did in a Course towards the South-west, for the Space of two Months, without touching any where; in which Time they lost twenty-one Men of their Company, the Remainder being upon the Point of Starving. They came in good Time, under this Necessity, to St. *James*, which is one of the *Cape de Verde* Islands, and there they were forced to throw themselves upon the Mercy of the *Portuguese*; so that, venturing ashore, they opened their miserable Case to the *Portuguese*; who were so generous as to relieve them the first, and so barbarous to detain them Prisoners the next Time they came for Food. Those in the Ship, finding their Companions, thirteen in Number, stopt by the *Portuguese*, and having no Mind to bear them Company in Prison, made all the Haste they possibly could away; and, the Wind filling their Sails, they came *September* the 7th into the Haven of St. *Lucar*, near *Seville*.

The Person who commanded this Vessel, which had the good Fortune to return, was one *John Sebastian Cano*, a Native of the Town of *Guetaria*, in *Biscay*, a Man of great Spirit, and equal Fortune, whose Success in this Respect was very nobly rewarded by the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, who, to perpetuate the Memory of so glorious an Exploit, gave him for his Arms the Terrestrial Globe, with this Motto, *Primus me circumdediti*; that is, *Thou first surroundedst me*. Some Criticks have remarked, that, instead of *circumdediti*; it should have been *circumivisti*, or *circumnavigasti*; but this was a Kind of Exactness unworthy of so great an Emperor. The new-discovered Streights were for a while called the *Streights of Victoria*, from the Ship that returned; but they soon

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soon lost that Name to assume another, which seemed much better to become them, I mean that of their Discoverer *Magellan*; which they are always like to bear, and thereby perpetuate the Memory of that worthy Man.

This remarkable Voyage took up three Years and thirty-seven Days; for they departed *August* the 10th, 1519, and returned *September* the 6th, 1522. On their Arrival at the *Moluccas*, they found themselves a Day mistaken in their Reckoning, which was not owing to any Negligence in them, but to the Course they sailed; for it is now a Truth, justified by Practice, as well as agreeable to the Principles of Geography and Navigation, that such as sail East, till they come back to the Place they left, have seen the Sun rise, pass the Meridian, and set, once more than their Countrymen they left behind them; and consequently gain a Day; and that, in like Manner, such as sail Westward round the Globe, lose a Day. *Magellan's* Crew knew not how to account for it; and yet modern Geographers explain it very naturally, and very precisely: For this intirely depends upon the diurnal Circumvolution of the Sun, which may begin at any meridian Circle, and so go round till it comes back to the same Meridian. This being once conceived, the Whole becomes immediately plain; since such as sail Eastward, advance to a Meridian which the Sun reaches sooner than he did that they left, and therefore they begin to count their Day so much the sooner: For Example, if they sail fifteen Degrees, they will begin the Day an Hour sooner, and this Anticipation still encreases as they go Eastward; and, being once come to the opposite Meridian, their Day begins twelve Hours sooner; and having gone round, they begin the Day twenty-four Hours sooner than in the Place they came to, where it is Mid-day to both, when the Sun is in the South. And so they that go West, will have the Sun later in their Meridian by a whole Hour, if they sail fifteen Degrees to the West, which postpones the Day an Hour for every fifteen Degrees, which comes to twenty-four Hours in sailing round.

F I N I S.



T H E
J O U R N A L
O F
Sir T H O M A S R O E,
AMBASSADOR from his Majesty King
JAMES the first of *England*,
T O
ICHAN GUIRE, the Mighty
Emperor of *India*,
Commonly called the *GREAT MOGUL*.



A R C H the 6th we lost Sight of the *Lizard*, and began our Course for the Cape of *Good-Hope*. The 26th we saw the Coast of *Barbary*; the 27th had Cape *Bojador* E. by S. whence the Current sets swift S. S. W. *April* the 14th we cross'd the Line, *May* the 2d the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and on the 5th of *June* came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Saldanha*, next the Cape of *Good-Hope*. The Land is fruitful, but divided by high inaccessible rocky Mountains

tains covered with Snow, the River *Dulce* falling into the Bay on the East Side. The People are the most barbarous in the World, eating Carrion, wearing the Guts of Sheep about their Necks for Health, and rubbing their Heads, which are curl'd like the Blacks, with the Dung of Beasts and Dirt; and having no Cloaths but Skins wrapped about their Shoulders, the fleshy Side next the Body in Summer, and the Hair in Winter. Their Houses are but a Mat rounded at the Top like an Oven, which they turn as the Wind changes, having no Door to keep it out. They have left off their Custom of Stealing, but know no God or Religion. The Air and Water are very wholesome. Here are Abundance of Cows, Antelopes, Baboons, Pheasants, Partridges, Larks, wild Geese, Ducks, and many other Sorts. On the Isle of *Penguin* is a Sort of Fowl of that Name that goes upright, his Wings without Feathers, hanging down like Sleeves fac'd with white. They do not fly, but only walk in Parcels, keeping regularly their own Quarters; they are a Sort of Mixture of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most Bird. The Commodities here are Cattle, Nangin Roots, and I believe there is a Rock yielding Quicksilver. The Table Mountain is 11853 Foot high. The Bay is full of Whales and Seals: The Latitude is 33 Degrees 45 Minutes. The 21st we came up with the Cape of *Good-Hope*; July the 8th with the Island of *Madagascar*, and the 22^d with that of *Molalia*: This is one of the Islands of *Comera*, the other three are *Angaresia*, *Juanny*, and *Mayotta*, lying almost East and West of one another, in the same Meridian with Cape *St. Augustin*. *Angaresia* bears N. by W. from *Molalia*, it is the highest Land I ever saw, inhabited by Moors trading with the Main, and the other three Eastern Islands, with their Cattle and Fruits for Callicoes, and other Clothes to cover them. It is governed by ten petty Kings, and has Plenty enough of Kine, Goats, Cows, Oranges and Lemons. The People are counted false and treacherous. *Juanny* lies East from *Molalia* and *Mayotta*, the Coast between them both. All these three Islands are full of Refreshments, but chiefly *Molalia*, and next to *Juanny*. Here lived an old Woman who was Sultaneß of all

all these Islands. Under her there were three Deputies in *Molalia*, Children of the old Woman. The *Sultan* in whose Quarter we anchored, is so absolute, that the People dare not sell a Coco-Nut without his Leave. Four Boats were sent to his Town to desire this Liberty, which was granted; and Captain *Newport* going ashore with forty Men, found the Governor sitting on a Mat, under the Side of a Junk that was building, attended by about fifty Men. He had on a Mantle of blue and red Callicoe wrapp'd about him to his Knees, his Legs and Feet bare, on his Head a close Cap of Chequer Work. Being presented with a Gun and a Sword, he returned four Cows, and proclaimed Liberty for the People to trade. He gave the *English* Coco-Nuts, and himself chew'd Betel, temper'd with Lime of burnt Oyster-shells, and the Kernel of a Nut call'd *Areca*, like an Acorn: It has a biting Taste, voids Rheum, cools the Head, strengthens the Teeth, and is all their Physick. Those that are not us'd to it are giddy with it, and the Spit-
tle is red, which in Time colours the Teeth, and is counted a Beauty. They all use this at all Times.

From the Governor's they were conducted to a Carpenter's House, who was a chief Man in the Town; the House was built with Lime and Stone, plaister'd with White-lime, low and little, covered with Rafter, and over them Coco-Leaves, the Out-sides wattled with Canes. They are kept cleanly, and their poor Household Stuff neat, their Gardens inclosed with Canes, containing Tobacco and Plantan Trees. For Dinner a Board was set upon Treffels, covered with a fine new Mat, and Stone Benches about it, on which they sat. First Water was brought to every Man in a Coco-Shell, and pour'd into a wooden Platter; and instead of a Towel, they use the Rhinds of Cocos. Then they set before them boiled Rice, with roasted Plantans on it, Quarters of Hens, and Pieces of Goats, broiled. After Grace was said, they fell to their Meat, with Bread made of Cocos beaten and mixed with Honey, and fry'd. Their Drink was *Palmiso* Wine and Coco Milk. Those that went to see the *Sultan*, whose Name was *Amor Adell*, found all Things much resembling what has been said before of the

Governor; but that in his Behaviour he was more light, and made Haste to be drunk with some Wine the *English* carried. The People are strict *Mahometans*, and very jealous of letting their Women and Moschs be seen; for some of the *English* coming near a Village, they shut them up, and threatened to kill them, if they came nearer. Many of them speak and write *Arabick*, and some few of them *Portuguese*, as trading to *Morambique* in Junks of forty Tons Burthen, and built, calk'd and rigg'd, all out of the Coco Tree. Here we bought Oxen and Cows, fat but small, *Arabian* Sheep, Hens, Cocos, Oranges, Lemons, and Limes in abundance, for Callicoes, Hollands, Sword Blades, Pieces of Eight, Glasses, Knives, and other Trifles.

August the second we weigh'd, and stood our Course for *Socotora*. The twenty-fourth we came to an Anchor in the Bay called *Delicia*, in *Socotora*, having been before separated in a Storm, and warn'd by the *Sultan* not to anchor at *Tamara*, which was too much expos'd to the Violence of the Winds. *Socotora* is an Island at the Mouth of the Red Sea. The *Sultan* of *Socotora* came down to the Shore with about three hundred Men, having set up a Tent near the Bay. He was on Horseback, as were two of his chief Servants, and another on a Camel, the People running before and behind him shouting; and two Guards, one of his Subjects, and the other of twelve hired *Guzarats*, some with *Turkish* Bows, some with Pistols, some with Muskets, but all with good Swords. He had also a few Kettle Drums, and one Trumpet. He received the General in a courteous Manner, and was so absolute, that no Man could sell any Thing but himself. His People sat about him very respectfully; his Cloaths were of *Surat* Stuffs after the *Arabian* Manner, with a Cassock of red and white wrought Velvet, and another, whereof the Ground was Gold. He had a very good Turbant, but was bare-footed. Every Night they all stand or kneel towards the Sun, the *Xerife* throwing Water on their Heads. As for Religion, they are *Mahometans*. The King's Town of *Tamara* is built of Lime and Stone, whited over, with Battlements and Pinnacles, the Houses being flat at the Top. At a Distance it looks well,

but

but within it is poor. Mr. *Boughton*, who had Leave to see the King's House, found it such as would serve an ordinary Gentleman in *England*. The lower Rooms serv'd for Warehouses and Wardrobe, some Changes of Robes hanging about the Walls, and with them about twenty-five Books of their Law, Religion, History, and Saints Lives. No Man was permitted to go up Stairs to see his Wives, which were there, nor the other Women; but the ordinary Sort might be seen in the Town, with their Ears full of Silver Rings. In the Mosque the Priest was at Service. Mr. *Boughton* had for his Dinner three Hens with Rice, and for Drink Water and *Cabu*, black Liquor, drank as hot as could be endured. The People are of four Sorts; *Arabs* come in by Conquest, who dare not speak in the Sultan's Presence without Leave, and kissing his Hand. The second Sort are Slaves; who, when they come to him, kiss his Foot, do all his Work, and make his Aloes. The third I suppose are the old Inhabitants of the Country, called *Bedwines*, tho' not the oldest of all, whom I suppose to be those commonly called *Jacobite Christians*; because Mr. *Boughton* going into a Church of their's, which the *Arabs* had forced them to abandon, found Images in it, and a Crucifix, which he took away; and the *Mahometans* would not say much of them, fearing lest other Christians should relieve or support them. They have had Wars with the *Arabs*, and live retired from them in the Mountains. The fourth Sort are a Savage People, poor, lean, naked, with long Hair, eating nothing but Roots, riding on Buffaloes, conversing with none of the others, and afraid of all, without Houses, and almost as brutal as Beasts; which, by Conjecture, are the antientest Natives of the Place. The Island is very mountainous and barren, having some Beeves, Goats, and Sheep, a few Dates and Oranges, a little Rice, and nothing else of Sustenance. All its Commodity is Aloes, which is the Juice of a Leaf like our House-Leek. The People make a poor Sort of Cloth for the Slaves. The King had some Dragon's Blood, and Indigo of *Labor*, as also Civet Cats and Civet. The Dead are here all buried in Tombs, and the Monuments of their Saints are held in great Veneration. The chief of these

these is *Scidy Hachim*, buried at *Tamara*, who being kill'd 100 Years before, they said still appeared to them, and warn'd them of Dangers at Hand; and they imputed the high Winds to his Walking, holding him in wonderful Veneration.

The 31st we weigh'd, and stood our Course for *Surat*; where I landed on the 26th of *September*, and was received in an open Tent by the chief Officers of the Town well attended. Much Controversy was about searching my Servants, but at length they pass'd free to the City, where we went in a House provided for us, and there continued till the 30th of *October*, suffering much from the Governor, who by Force search'd many Chests, and took out what he thought fit. The 30th aforesaid I departed from *Surat*, and travelled but four Cosses* to *Cumaria*; the 1st of *November* 11 Miles to a Village, the 2d to *Biarat* 21 Miles, where there is a Castle, this Town being on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, subject to the *Mogul*, and belonging to *Abraham Chan*; the 3d entered the Kingdom of *Pardaffha*, a Pagan Lord of the Hills, subject to no Person, and at 15 Miles end lay in the Fields, near a City of Note called *Mugher*; the 4th, 9 Miles rocky Way, lay in the Fields by a Village called *Narampera*; the 5th, 15 Miles in the Fields; the 6th, 20 Miles to *Nunderpar*, a City of the Kingdom of *Brampor*, subject to the *Mogul*. Here we had first Bread, after coming from *Surat*, because the *Banians* who inhabit all the Country make no Bread, but only Cakes. The Country is plentiful, especially in Cattle, the *Banians* killing none, or selling any to be kill'd. One Day I met 10000 Bullocks loaded with Corn, in one Drove, and most Days after lesser Parcels; the 17th, 18 Miles to *Ningul*; the 8th, 15 to *Sincbelly*; the 9th, 15 to *Tolmere*; the 10th, 18 to *Chapre*, where having pitch'd the Tents without the Town, the King's Officers attended me all Night, with thirty Horse and 20 Foot, for Fear of the Robbers on the Mountains, because I refus'd to remove into the Town; the 11th, 18 Miles; the 13th, 18 Miles; and the 14th, 15 Miles to *Bram-pore*, which I guess to be 223 Miles East from *Surat*. The Country

* A Cossé is about a Mile and a Half.

Country is miserable and barren, the Towns and Villages built with Mud. At *Batharpore*, a Village two Miles short of *Brampore*, I saw some of their Ordnance, which is most too short, and too open in the Bore. The *Cutwall*, an Officer of the King's so called, met me well attended with 16 Colours carried before him, and conducted me to the *Seraglio*, where I was appointed to lodge. He took his Leave at the Gate, which made a handsome Front of Stone, but when in, I had four Chambers allotted me like Ovens, and no bigger, round at the Top, made of Brick in the Side of a Wall, so that I lay in my Tent; the *Cutwall* making his Excuse, that this was the best Lodging in the Town, as I found it was; all the Place being only Mud Cottages, except the Prince's House, the Chan's, and some few others. I was carried by the *Cutwall* to visit the Prince, in whose outward Court I found about a hundred Gentlemen on Horseback, waiting to salute him at his coming out. He sat high in a Gallery that went round, with a Canopy over him, and a Carpet before him. An Officer told me, as I approach'd I must touch the Ground with my Head bare, which I refus'd, and went on to a Place right under him, rail'd in, with an Ascent of three Steps, where I made him Reverence, and he bow'd his Body: So I went within, where were all the great Men of the Town with their Hands before them like Slaves. The Place was cover'd over with a rich Canopy, and under Foot all with Carpets: It was like a great Stage, and the Prince sat at the upper End of it. Having no Place assign'd, I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the Steps, or to allow me a Chair. Having receiv'd my Presents he offered to go into another Room, where I should be allow'd to sit; but by the way he made himself drunk out of a Case of Bottles I gave him, and so the Visit ended.

The 27th of November I was carry'd sick from *Brampore* three Cosses to *Raypora*; the 28th, 15 Cosses to *Burgome*, and the 30th, 7 Cosses. December the 1st, 10 Cosses to *Bicangome*; the 2d, seven Cosses; the 3d, 5 Cosses; the 4th, 11 Cosses, to *Echarpur*, standing on a good River that falls into the Sea near *Barache*. The 5th pass'd the River call'd *Narbodah*;

Narbodab; the 6th, travel'd eight Cosses, and lay in a Wood not far from the King's famous Castle of *Mandoa*, which stands on a steep Hill, of a vast Extent, including fifteen Cosses within the Wall. The 7th ten Cosses, the 8th eight, the 10th twelve, the 11th sixteen, the 12th fourteen, the 13th six, the 14th lay still to rest, the 15th six Cosses, the 16th six, the 17th twelve, the 11th five to *Cytor*. This is an ancient ruin'd City on a Hill, but shews the Steps of wonderful Magnificence. There are still standing above a hundred Churches, all of carved Stone, many fair Towers and Lanthorns, many Pillars, and innumerable Houses, but not one Inhabitant. There is but one steep Ascent cut out of the Rock, and four Gates in the Ascent before you come to the City Gate, which is magnificent. The Hill is enclosed at the Top for about eight Cosses, and at the South-west end is a goodly old Castle. It is in the Country of *Rama*, a Prince newly subdu'd by the *Mogul*, or rather brought to own Subjection. It was brought under by *Ecbar-Sba* Father to *Ieban Guire*. The Indian Prince *Rama* is lineally descended from *Porus*, that warlike Indian Monarch overcome by *Alexander* the Great.

The 19th I proceeded on my Journey twelve Cosses, the 20th ten, the 21st ten, the 22d nine, the 23d ten to *Ardsmere*. The first six Days Journey from *Brampore* towards *Ardsmere*, were West, or North-west to compass the Hills, but after that due North, so that they bear from one another almost North by West, and South by East, the whole Distance 209 Cosses, which I judge to be about 418 Miles *English*; the Cosses here being longer than near the Sea.

January the 10th I went to Court at four in the Afternoon to the *Durbar*, where the *Mogul* daily sits to entertain Strangers, receive Petitions, and give out Orders, and to see and be seen. And here it will be proper to give some Account of his Court. None but Eunuchs come within the King's private Lodgings, and his Women, who guard him with warlike Weapons. These punish one another for any Offence committed. The *Mogul* every Morning shews himself to the common People at a Window that looks into a Plain before his Gate. At Noon he is there again to see

Elephants

Elephants and wild Beasts fight, the Men of Rank being under him within a Rail. Hence he retires to sleep among his Women. After Noon he comes to the *Durbar* before mentioned. After Supper at eight of the Clock he comes down to the *Guzelcan*, a fair Court, in the Midst whereof is a Throne of free Stone, on which he sits, or sometimes below in a Chair, where none are admitted but of the first Quality, and few of them without Leave. Here he discourses of indifferent Things very affably. No Business of State is done any where but at one of these two last Places, where it is publickly canvass'd, and so register'd; which Register might be seen for two Shillings, and the common People know as much as the Council; so that every Day the King's Resolutions is the publick News, and exposed to the Censure of every Scoundrel. This Method is never altered unless Sicknes or Drink obstruct it; and this must be known, for if he be unseen one Day without a Reason assign'd, the People would mutiny; and for two Days no Excuse will serve, but the Doors must be open'd, and some admitted to see him to satisfy others. On *Tuesday* he sits in Judgment at the *Jarucco*, and hears the meanest Persons Complaints, examines both Parties, and often sees Execution done by his Elephants.

Before my Audience I had obtain'd Leave to use the Customs of my Country. At the *Durbar* I was conducted right before him; entering the outward Rail, two noble Slaves met me to conduct me nearer. At the first Rail I made a low Reverence, at the next another, and when under the King a third. The Place is a great Court, to which all Sorts of People resort. The King sits in a little Gallery over Head; Ambassadors, great Men, and Strangers of Quality, within the inmost Rail under him, raised from the Ground, cover'd with Canopies of Velvet and Silk, and good Carpets under Foot. The next Degree, like our Gentry, within the first Rail, the Commonalty without in a Bass Court, yet so that all may see the King. In fine it is rising by Degrees, like a Theatre. My Reception was very favourable, but needs not particularizing.

March

March the 1st I rid out to see a House of Pleasure of the King's,, given him by *Asaph Chan*, and two Miles from *Ardsmere*. It is situated between two mighty Rocks, so defended from the Sun that it scarce any Way sees it. The Foundation is cut out of the Rock, as are some Rooms, the rest is Free Stone. There is a handsome little Garden, with fine Fountains, and two great Fishponds, one 30 Steps above another. The Way to it admits of but one, or at most two Men a-breast, and that very steep and stony. It is a Place of melancholy Delight, and Safety, all the Company about it being wild Peacocks, Turtles, Fowl, and Monkeys, that inhabit the Rocks hanging every Way over it.

The 11th of *March* in the Evening began the Festival of the *Norose*. This is a Custom of solemnizing the New Year, but the Ceremony begins the first New Moon after it. It is kept in Imitation of the *Persians* Feast, and signifies in that Language nine Days, because antiently it lasted no longer; but now it is doubled. The Manner of it is thus: A Throne is erected four Foot from the Ground in the *Durbar* Court; from the Back whereof to the Place where the King comes out, a Square of fifty-six Paces in Length, and forty-three in Breadth, was rail'd in, and cover'd with fair *Serians*, or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silk, or Velvet, join'd together, and held up with Canes cover'd after the same Manner. At the upper End were set out the Pictures of the King of *England*, the Queen, the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Countesses of *Somerset* and *Salisbury*, and of a Citizen's Wife of *London*. Below them another of *Sir Thomas Smith*, Governor of the *East-India* Company. The Ground is laid with good *Persian* Carpets very large, into which Place come all the Men of Quality to attend the King, except some few that are within a little Rail right before the Throne to receive his Commands. Within this Square there were set out for Show many little Houses, one of them of Silver, and some other Curiosities of Value. The Prince Sultan *Corome* had on the left Side a Pavilion, the Supporters whereof were covered with Silver, as were some of those also near the King's Throne. The Form of this Throne was square, the Matter Wood inlaid with Mother of Pearl, born up with

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with four Pillars, and cover'd with Cloth of Gold. About the Edge over Head, like a Valence, was a net Fringe of good Pearl, from which hung down Pomegranates, Apples, and such Fruit of Gold, but hollow. Within it the King sat on Cushions very rich in Pearls and Jewels. Round about the Court before the Throne, the principal Men had erected Tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with Velvet, Damask, or Taffety for the most Part, but some few with Cloth of Gold; into which they retired, and sat to show all their Wealth. For antiently the Kings used to go to every Tent, and take thence what they pleased; but now it is chang'd, the King sitting to receive what New Year's Gifts are brought him. He comes abroad at the usual Hour of the *Durbar*, and retires in the same Order. Here great Presents are offered him by all Sorts, tho' not equal to Report, yet incredible enough: And at the End of this Feast, the King in Return for the Presents receiv'd, advances some, and adds to their Entertainment some Horse at his Pleasure.

The next Day, being the 12th of *March*, I went to visit the King, and delivered him a Present, where I saw Abundance of Wealth, but being of all Sorts put together without Order, it did not look so regular. The same Day the Son of *Rama*, the new Tributary before mentioned, did his Homage, touching the Ground three Times with his Head. The 13th at Night I had Audience at the *Guzelcan*, and press'd to have the Peace and Commerce with *England* settled after a solemn Manner, and all the Articles settled, which the *Mogul* ordered should be done. The 15th in the Evening I went again to the *Norose*, and according to the *Mogul's* Order chose my Place of standing, which was on the right Hand of him on the rising of the Throne, the Prince and young *Rama* standing on the other Side; so I had a full View of what was to be seen, Presents, Elephants, Horses, and Whores. The 23d the *Mogul* condemn'd one of his own Nation upon Suspicion of Felony; but being one of the handsomest Men in *India*, and the Evidence not very clear against him, he would not suffer him to be executed, but sent him to me in Irons for a Slave to dispose of at my

Will. This is look'd upon as a great Favour, for which I return'd Thanks ; adding, that in *England* we had no Slaves, nor thought it lawful to make the Image of God equal to a Beast, but that I would use him as a Servant ; and if he behaved himself well, give him his Liberty. This the *Mogul* was well pleased with. The 26th I went to the *Guzalcan*, and deliver'd the Articles I had drawn up, which were referr'd to *Asaph Chan*, who a while after sent to me to remove from the Standing I had taken before the King, because I stood alone, and that was not the Custom. I refused at first, but he insisting that I should rank myself among the Nobility, I removed to the other Side to the Place where only the Prince and young *Rama* were ; which more disgusted *Asaph Chan*, who perswaded the Prince to complain of me, which he did : but the *Mogul* having heard their Complaint, and my Answer, that I removed by *Asaph Chan's* Order, answer'd, I had done well, and they were in the wrong to offer to displace me in his Sight. So I kept my Place in quiet.

The Substance of the Articles delivered to the Great *Mogul* was, 1. That there be perpetual Peace between the King of *Great Britain* and his *Indian* Majesty. 2. That the Subjects of *England* have free Trade in all Ports in *India*. 3. That the Governors of all Ports publish this Agreement three Times upon the Arrival of any *English* Ships. 4. That the Merchants or their Servants shall not be searched or ill used. 5. That no Presents sent to the *Mogul* shall be opened. 6. That the *English* Goods shall not be stopped above twenty-four Hours at the Custom-House, only to be there seal'd and sent to the Merchant's House, there to be opened and rated within six Days after. 7. That no Governor shall take any Goods by Force, but upon Payment of the Owner's Price ; nor any taken upon Pretence of the King's Service. 8. That the Merchants shall not be hindered selling their Goods to whom they please, or sending them to other Factories, and this without paying any other Duty than what is paid at the Port. 9. That whatsoever Goods the *English* buy in any Part of the *Mogul's* Dominions, they may send down to the Ports without pay-
ing

ing any Duty more than shall be agreed on at the Port at Shipping them, and this without any Hindrance or Molestation. 10. That no Goods brought to any Port shall be again opened, the *English* shewing a Certificate of their Numbers, Qualities and Conditions, from the Governor or Officers of the Place where they were bought. 11. That no Confiscation shall be made of the Goods or Money of the *English* dying. 12. That no Custom be demanded for Provisions during the Stay of *English* Ships at any Port. 13. That the Merchants Servants, whether *English* or *Indians*, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their Duty. 14. That the *Mogul* will punish any Governor, or Officer, for Breach of any of these Articles. 15. That the *English* Ships shall suffer all others to pass and repass freely to the *Mogul's* Ports, except their Enemies; and that the *English* ashore shall behave themselves civilly as Merchants. 16. That they shall yearly furnish the *Mogul* with all Rarities from *Europe*, and all other such Things as he shall desire at reasonable Prices. 17. The *English* to pay the Duty of three and a Half *per* Cent. for Goods reasonably rated, and two *per* Cent. for Pieces of Eight, and no other Duty elsewhere. 18. That the *English* shall be ready to assist the *Mogul* against all his Enemies. Lastly, That the *Portuguese* may come into this Peace within six Months; or if they refuse, the *English* be at Liberty to exercise all Hostilities against them. These were the Articles presented, but they were delayed and opposed, and what was the Conclusion we shall see hereafter.

The 31st of *March* the *Mogul* dined at *Asaph Chan's* House, all the Way from the Palace to it, which was an *English* Mile, being laid under Foot with Silks and Velvets sewed together, but roll'd up as the King pass'd. They reported that the Feast and Present cost six Lecks of Roupies, which is 60000 *l.* Sterling.

June the 18th, the King commanded one of his Brother's Sons, who had been persuaded to become a Christian, with a Design to make him odious to the People, to lay his Hand on the Head of a Lion that was brought before the King, which he refus'd out of Fear; upon which the King bid his

youngest Son go touch the Lion, who did so without receiving any Hurt; whereat the King took Occasion to send his Nephew away to Prison, where he is never like to see Day-light. The 19th the King removed with the Prince and all the Court to *Havar Gemal*. The 23d the King returned to his own House, and sat in Publick according to Custom. The 24th Prince *Couron*, whose Favour I was labouring to gain, and with whom I had many Contests, had a Son born; and he preparing to lead the Army to *Decan*, the Eyes of all Men were fixed upon him; some flattering, others envying him, and others to make their Advantage, but none loving him. He received twenty Lecks of Roupies towards his Charge, which amounts to 200000 Pound Sterling, and began to bestow his Money bountifully. Yet notwithstanding this Show of his Father's Affection and Greatness, a *Chan* told the King that the Expedition would prove dangerous in Respect of Prince *Pervis*, whose Honour was so deeply concerned that he would not go unrevenged. The King answer'd, Let them fight, and he that proves himself the better Commander shall pursue the War. The 25th I had Audience of the King, being sent for by *Asaph Chan*, and was received with the usual Courtesy by his Majesty. This *Asaph Chan* was the Prince's Favourite, therefore I was unwilling to disoblige him, tho' he had given several Provocations. And at this Time *Mocreb Chan*, another great Man, made me Offers of his Service, being of a contrary Faction to the other; but I thought best to make Friends of them both. *Mocreb* told me, among other Things, that the *English* brought too much Cloth and bad Swords, and scarce any Thing else, and therefore advised to forbear two or three Years, and rather bring such Rarities as *China* and *Japan* afforded, which would be more acceptable, and from *England* the best Cloth of Gold, and the richest Silks wrought with Gold and Silver, but above all a good Quantity of *Arras* Hangings. The 30th I visited *Abdalla Nassan*, having need of his Friendship; and what is rare in this Country, he received no Presents. He has the Command of all Soldiers entertained at Court, and is Treasurer to all the Armies. He entertain'd me with much Civility,

and

we sat to see his Soldiers shoot with Bows and Guns. Most of them with a single Bullet hit the Mark, being about a Hand's Breadth in the Butt.

July passed away in soliciting the Prince to sign and seal the Articles I had presented to the King, of which an Abstract was given before. On the 13th at Night I went to the *Durbar* to visit the King, who sent *Asaph Chan* to tell me he was informed I had an excellent Painter at my House, which I told him was only a young Man that drew upon Paper, and that very indifferently; however I promised to bring him to his Majesty, who at this Time used so many Expressions of Kindness to me, that all Men were amazed at it, and proffered me any Thing I would ask for in his Kingdom. I went from him to *Asaph Chan's* House, where I continued till the King came out again; when I was conducted to him, carrying with me Mr. *Hughs* the supposed Painter, with whom the King had some Discourse. After this I presented the King with a curious Picture I had of a Friend of mine, which pleased him highly, and he showed it to all the Company. The King's chief Painter being sent for, pretended he could make as good; which I denying, a Wager of a Horse was laid about it between me and *Asaph Chan*, in the *Mogul's* Presence, and to please him; but *Asaph Chan* afterwards fell off. This done the *Mogul* fell to drinking of *Alicant* Wine I had presented him, giving Tastes of it to several about him, and then sent for a full Bottle, and drinking a Cup sent it to me, saying, It began to sour so fast it would be spoiled before he could drink it, and I had none. This done he turn'd to sleep, the Candles were put out, and I grop'd my Way out in the dark. This Day a Gentlewoman of *Normals*, the King's favourite Queen, was taken in the King's House in some Action with an Eunuch. Another *Capon* that loved her killed him. The poor Woman was ^{fix} up to the Arm-pits in the Earth close rammed about her, with her Feet tied to a Stake, so to continue three Days and two Nights without any Sustenance, her Head and Arms bare exposed to the violent Heat of the Sun. If she died not in that Time, she was to be pardoned. The Eunuch was condemned to the Elephants. This Dam-
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fel was found worth in Pearls, Jewels, and ready Money, 160000 Roupies.

Nothing remarkable happened till *August* the 6th, I was sent for to the *Durbar*, where I had much Talk with the King, who asked me many Questions to satisfy his Curiosity, and bid me come to the *Guzelcan* at Night, and I should see my Picture so exactly copied, that I should not know the one from the other. I came at Night and he showed me six Pictures, five of them painted by his own Painter, all pasted upon a Board, and so like that by Candle-light I could scarce know one from another. Neither did I at first Sight know my own, at which the *Mogul* was much pleased; but looking closer upon it I showed it, and the Difference between it and the others. The *Mogul* was overjoyed, and I surprized at their Art, not thinking they could have performed so well; and the King after many Civilities promised me his own Picture.

The 9th a hundred Thieves were brought chain'd before the *Mogul* with their Accusation: Without further Ceremony, as in all such Cases is the Custom, he ordered them to be carried away, the Chief of them to be torn in Pieces by Dogs, and the rest put to Death: This was all the Process and Form. The Prisoners were divided into several Quarters of the Town, and executed in the Streets, as in one by my House, where twelve Dogs tore the Chief of them in Pieces, and thirteen of his Fellows having their Hands tied down to their Feet, had their Necks cut with a Sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody, and stinking to the View of all Men, and Annoyance of the Neighbourhood. The 10th, 11th, and 12th, I spent in giving the King and Prince Advice that a *Dutch* Ship lay before *Surat*, and would not declare upon what Design it came, till a Fleet arrived; which was expected with the first fit Season. This I improved to fill their Heads with Jealousies of the Designs of the *Dutch*, and the Dangers that might ensue from them, which was well taken; and being demanded, I gave my Advice to prevent coming to a Rupture with them, and yet exclude them the Trade of *India*. The last of these Days I went to visit *Gemaldin-Uffin*, Viceroy of *Patan*, and
seventy

seventy Years of Age. He received me with extraordinary Courtesy, offering me a Leck of Roupies, or all his Interest at Court ; informing me of all the Customs of the Country, and shewing me a Book he had composed of all memorable Things that had happened under three Kings, whom he had served ; and offering me a Copy, if I could get it translated. It also treated of the King's Revenue, and the Manner of raising it. He show'd me that the Government of every Province did pay a yearly Rent ; and for Instance, he for his Government of *Patan* gave the King eleven Lecks* of *Roupies* ; the Roupie is two Shillings and two Pence. All other Profits were the Governor's, and he had Regal Authority to take what he pleased ; which in his Viceroyship of *Patan* was valued at 5000 Horse ; the Pay of each at 200 Roupies a Year, whereof he kept 1500, and was allowed the Surplus as dead Pay. Besides this the King gave him a Pension of a thousand Roupies a Day, and some smaller Governments ; yet he assured me there were several that had double his Allowance, and above twenty equal to him. He praised the good Prophet *Jesus*, and his Laws, and we had much pleasant and profitable Discourse. Some Days had passed after this Visit, and I thought his Kindness had been at an End, when he borrow'd the King's Pleasure House and Garden, called *Havar Gemat*, a Mile out of the Town, to treat me in, and invited me over Night. At Midnight he went himself, and carried his Tents and all his Furniture, and fitted up a Place by the Pond-side very handsomely. I went in the Morning, he met me with much Civility, and carried me into his Room prepared for me, where he had some Company, and a hundred Servants attending two of his Sons, he having thirty. He shewed me the King's Closets, and retiring Rooms, which were painted *a l' Antique*, and in some Panes the Pictures of the King of *France*, and other Christian Princes. He told me he was a poor Man, Slave to the King ; that he was willing to give me some Content, and had therefore brought me to a slight Banquet to eat Bread and Salt together to seal a Friendship, which he desired me to accept ; that others might treat me better, but were not so sincere, but would deceive me, and
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* One Leck of *Roupies* is above ten thousand Pounds Sterling.

my Interpreters would never deliver the Truth, but what those Men pleased; and therefore I should never do my Business to any Purpose, till I had an *Englishman* that could speak the *Persian* Tongue, and declare my Mind freely, which the King would grant, if I could find one, because he had conceived a good Opinion of me: And the last Night the Jewels of *Sheck Ferid* being brought before him, he remember'd me of himself; and finding among them his own Picture well done, he had delivered it to *Asaph Chan* to send it to me to wear for his Sake, with many Expressions of his Favour, which would make all the Great Men respect me. By this Time Dinner came in, and we all sat down on Carpets; a Cloth being laid, and Variety of Dishes set before us, as was a little on one Side for the Gentlemen that accompanied him, to whom he went to eat, they looking on it as a Sort of defiling to mix with us. Hereupon I told him he had promised we should eat Bread and Salt together, and that I had little Appetite without his Company. He rose presently and sat by me, and we fell heartily to our Meal; there being Dishes of several Sorts, as Almonds, Raisins, Pistachoes, and Fruit. After Dinner he played at Chess, and I walk'd; and after some Time I offer'd to take my Leave. But he said he had desired me to come to eat, and what we had before was but a Collation, and therefore I must not depart till we had supp'd, which I readily consented to. About an Hour after, the Ambassador of one of the *Decan* Kings came to visit him, whom he presented to me, using him with much Civility, but much below the Respect he shewed to me. He asked me whether his Majesty, my Master, would not take in Scorn the Offer of Service from so poor a Man, and would vouchsafe to accept of a Present from a Stranger; for he would send a Gentleman with me to kiss his Majesty's Hands, and to see our Country. I returned a civil Answer; and he went presently, and asked one if he would undertake the Voyage. The Gentleman seemed willing, and he presented him to me, saying he would provide some Trifles, such as the Country afforded for his Majesty, and send him in my Company. This to me seemed by the Manner to be in earnest. At last Sup-

per came ; two Cloths being spread, as in the Morning, and before me and my Chaplain were set several Dishes of Sallads, and Meat roasted, fry'd, boil'd, and Variety of Rice. He desired to be excused himself, because it was their Custom to eat among themselves, and his Countrymen would take it ill if he did not eat with them. So he and his Guests, and I and my Company made much of ourselves. The Meat was not amiss, but the Attendants and Order much better ; his Servants being very diligent and respectful. He gave me for a Present, as is the Manner when any one is invited, five Cases of Sugar-candy dressed with Musk, and one Loaf of the finest Sugar as white as Snow about fifty Pounds weight, desiring me to accept of a hundred such Loaves against I went away ; which, said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poor, but it costs me Nothing, it is made in my Government, and comes *gratis*. I offer'd to accept when I was going, but he pressed to take it now for fear he should be then unprovided. Thus calling himself my Father, and I my self his Son, we took leave of one another.

The 17th I went to visit the King, who as soon as I came in called to his Women, and reached out his own Picture set in Gold, hanging at a gold wire Chain, with one Pendant of foul Pearl, which he delivered to *Asaph Chan*, warning him not to demand any Reverence of me, but what I was willing to make ; it being the Custom, whensoever he bestows any Thing, for the Receiver to kneel down, and put his Head to the Ground, which has been required of the Ambassadors of *Persia*. *Asaph Chan* came to me, and I offered to take it in my Hand ; but he made Signs to take off my Hat, and then he put it about my Neck, leading me right before the King. I understood not his Meaning, but feared he would require the Custom of the Country mentioned above, which they call *Size-Da* ; and was resolved rather to return my Present than submit to it. He made Signs to me to give the King Thanks, which I did after my own Manner ; whereupon some Officers called to me to make the *Size-Da*, But the King in the *Persian* Tongue said, No, No. So I returned to my Place : But

No. 28. E e that

that you may judge of the King's Liberality, this Gift was not worth in all 30 *l.* yet was it five Times as good as any he gives in that Sort, and look'd upon as a special Favour. For all the great Men that wear the King's Image, which none may do but those to whom it is given, receive only a Medal of Gold, as big as a Sixpence, with a little Chain of four Inches to fasten it on their Heads, and this at their own Charge; some set it with Stones, or adorn it with Pendants of Pearls.

The 19th *Gemaldin Uffin*, who I said before invited me to *Havar Gemal*, being newly made Governor of *Syndu*, came to dine with me, with two of his Sons, two other Gentlemen, and about a Hundred Servants. He eat some of the Banquet provided in my House by a *Moorish* Cook, but would not touch such Meat as I had dress'd after my own Fashion, tho' his Appetite was very good; but he refrain'd out of a Sort of Superstition. Yet he desired that four or five Dishes might be sent to his House, such as he would chuse, being all bak'd Meats, which he had never seen before, and said he would dine on them in private; which was accordingly done. He offered me the Town of *Syndu*, and all other Courtesies in his Power; made all Haste to fill his Belly, and I gave him a small Present according to the Custom of the Country.

The 20th and the Night before it, there fell a Storm of Rain, which they call the Elephant, and is usual at the End of the rainy Season; but this was extraordinary, for there ran such Streams into the Pond, that tho' it is inclosed with Stone, very strong in Appearance, yet the Water was so fierce that it broke through in one Place, which caused a sudden Fear and Consternation, lest it should drown that Part of the Town where I dwelt: Infomuch that the Prince and all his Women forsook their House; my next Neighbour carried away his Wife and Goods on his Elephants and Camels to fly to the Hills Side. All Men had their Horses ready at their Doors to save their Lives; so that we were much frighted, and sat up till Midnight, because we had no Help but to fly ourselves, and lose all our Goods; for it was reported that it would run three Foot higher than
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the Top of my House, and carry all away, being poor mud Buildings: Fourteen Years before having shewed the dismal Experience, the Bottom of the Pond being level with our Dwelling, and the Water extraordinary great and deep, so that the Top was much higher than my House, which stood in the Bottom in the Course of the Water; every ordinary Rain making such a Current at my Door, that it runs not swifter through the Arches of *London Bridge*, and is for some Hours impassable for Man or Horse. The King in the Night caused a Sluice to be opened to discharge the Water another Way, yet the very Rain had wash'd away a great Part of the Walls of my House, and so weakened it all, breaking in at several Places, that I feared the Fall more than the Flood. Thus were we every where afflicted; Fires, Smokes, Floods, Storms, Heat, Dust, Flies, and no temperate Weather or safe Season, The 27th I received Advice from *Surat*, that the *Dutch* had obtained Leave to land their Goods there in a Warehouse, and trade till the Prince's Pleasure was known, upon Condition they should depart upon the first Warning.

The 29th the King went to *Havar Gemal*, and so a Hunting. It was resolved to remove to *Mandoa*, a Castle near *Bramapore*, where there is no Town; that the King having sent away his Son Sultan *Pervis* to *Bengala*, might be near at Hand to countenance his Son Sultan *Coron*, who he designed should command in *Decan*, contrary to the Inclination of all the great Men. The 30th the King returning from Hunting sent me a wild Boar so large that he desired the Tusks might be sent him back for their extraordinary Size, sending Word he had killed it with his own Hand, and bidding me eat it merrily.

The 2d of *September* was the King's Birth-day, and kept with great Solemnity. On this Day the King is weighed against some Jewels, Gold, Silver, Stuffs of Gold, Silver, and Silk, Butter, Rice, Fruit, and many other Things, of every Sort a little, which is all given to the *Bramas* or *Bramans*. The King commanded *Asaph Chan* to send for me to this Solemnity; who appointed me to come to the Place where the King sits at *Durbar*, and I should be sent for in;

but the Messenger mistaking, I went not till *Darbar* Time, and so miss'd the Sight; but being there before the King came out, as soon as he spied me, he sent to know the Reason why I came not in, since he had ordered it. I answered according to the Mistake, yet he was very angry, and chid *Asaph Chan* publickly. He was so rich in Jewels, that I own in my Life I never saw such inestimable Wealth together. The Time was spent in bringing his greatest Elephants before him; some of which being Lord Elephants, had their Chains, Bells, and Furniture of Gold and Silver, with many gilt Banners and Flags carried about them, and eight or ten Elephants waiting upon each of them, cloathed in Gold, Silk, and Silver. In this Manner about twelve Companies passed by, most richly adorned, the first having all the Plates in his Head and Breast set with Rubies and Emeralds, being a Beast of wonderful Bulk and Beauty. They all bowed down before the King, making their Reverence very handsomely; this was the finest Show of Beasts I ever saw. The Keepers of every chief Elephant gave a Present. Then having made me some favourable Complements, he rose up and went in. At Night about ten of the Clock he sent for me; I was then in Bed. The Message was, that he heard I had a Picture which I had not shew'd him, desiring me to come to him and bring it; and if I would not give it him, he would order Copies of it to be taken for his Women. I got up and carried it with me. When I came in, I found him sitting cross-leg'd on a little Throne, all covered with Diamonds, Pearls and Rubies. Before him a Table of Gold, and on it about fifty Pieces of Gold Plate, all set with Jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less Value, but all of them almost covered with small Stones. His Nobility about him in their best Equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily, several Sorts of Wine standing by in great Flaggons. When I drew near, he ask'd for the Picture, I shew'd him two; he seem'd astonish'd at one of them, and ask'd whose it was. I told him a Friend of mine that was dead. He ask'd if I would give it him. I answer'd I valued it above all Things, but if his Majesty would pardon me, and accept

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of the other, which was an excellent Piece, I would willingly bestow it on his Majesty. He thank'd me, and said he desired none but that Picture, and if I would give it him, he should prize it above the richest Jewel in his House. I replied, I was not so fond of any Thing, but I would part with it to please his Majesty, with other Expressions of Respect. He bow'd to me, and said it was enough I had given it him; that he own'd he had never seen so much Art, so much Beauty, and conjur'd me to tell him truly, whether ever such a Woman lived. I assured him there did, but she was now dead. He said he would show it his Women, and take five Copies, and if I knew my own I should have it again. Other Complements pass'd, but he would restore it, his Painters being excellent at Copying in Water Colours. The other Picture being in Oil, he did not like. Then he sent me Word it was his Birth-day, and all Men made merry, and ask'd whether I would drink with them. I answer'd, I would do whatsoever his Majesty commanded, and wish'd him many happy Days, and that the Ceremony might be renew'd a hundred Years. He ask'd me whether I would drink Wine of the Grape, or made, whether strong or small. I replied, what he commanded, but hoped it would not be too much, nor too strong. Then he call'd for a Gold Cup full of mix'd Wine, half of the Grape, and half Artificial, and drank; causing it to be fill'd again, and then sent it by one of the Nobles to me with this Message, *That I should drink it off twice, thrice, four, or five Times for his Sake, and accept of the Cup and Appurtenances as a Present.* I drank a little, but it was stronger than any I ever tast'd; insomuch that it made me Sneeze, and made him laugh; and he call'd for Raisins, Almonds, and sic'd Lemons, which were brought me on a Gold Plate, bidding me eat and drink what I would and no more. I made Reverence for my Present after my own Manner, tho' *Asaph Chan* would have had me kneel, and knock my Head against the Ground; but his Majesty accepted of what I did. The Cup was of Gold, set all about with small Rubies and *Turky* Stones, the Cover with large Rubies, Emeralds, and *Turky* Stones in curious Works, and a Dish suitable to set the Cup

Cup on. The Value I know not, because the Stones are most of them small, and the greater, which are many, not all clean, but they are in Number about two thousand, and the Gold about twenty Ounces. Thus he made merry, and sent me Word, that he esteemed me more than ever he had done, and ask'd whether I was merry at eating the wild Boar sent me a few Days before; how I dress'd it, what I drank, assuring me I should want for nothing in his Country: The Effects of all which his publick Favours I presently found in the Behaviour of all his Nobility. Then he threw about to those that stood below two Chargers of new Roupies, and amongst us two Chargers of hollow Almonds of Gold and Silver mixed; but I would not scramble, as his great Men did, for I saw his Son take up none. Then he gave Sashes of Gold, and Girdles to all the Musicians and Waiters, and many others. So drinking, and commanding others to do the same, his Majesty and all his Lords became the finest Men I ever saw, of a thousand several Humours. But his Son, *Asaph Chan*, two old Men, and myself forbore. When he could hold up his Head no longer, he lay down to sleep, and we all departed.

Seven Months were now spent in soliciting the Signing and Sealing of the Articles of Peace and Commerce set down above, and nothing obtain'd but Promises from Week to Week, and from Day to Day; and therefore on the third of *September*, the *English* Fleet being hourly expected at *Surat*, I went to the Prince, and delivered him a Memorial, containing the Articles I desired him to give an Order to be observed for the unloading of the Ships. The Articles were,

I. That the Presents coming for the King and Prince should not be opened at the Port, but sent up to Court sealed by the Custom House Officers.

II. That Curiosities sent for other Presents, and for the Merchants to sell, should also be sent up to Court seal'd for the Prince to take the first choice.

III. That the gross Merchandize be landed, reasonably rated for the Custom, and not detain'd in the Custom-House; but that the Merchants paying the Custom, have
full

full Liberty to sell or dispose of it; and that the Ships be supplied with Provisions without paying Custom.

On the 4th, *Asaph Chan* sent me back my first Articles, after so long Attendance and so many false Promises, some of them altered, others struck out, and an Answer that there was no Articling at all, but it was enough to have an Order from the Prince, who was Lord of *Surat*, to trade there: But for *Bengala* or *Syndu*, it should never be granted. Notwithstanding all this Vexation, I durst not change my Method of proceeding, or wholly quit the Prince and *Asaph Chan*: Therefore I drew up other Articles, leaving out what was displeasing in the former, and desiring *Asaph Chan* to put them in Form and procure the Seal, or else to give me Leave to apply myself to the King, to receive his Denial, and depart the Country. The Substance of the new Articles was as follows: That all the Subjects of the *Mogul* should receive the *English* in a friendly Manner; to suffer them to land their Goods peaceably; to furnish them with Provisions for their Money, without paying any Customs for them; to have Liberty, after paying Custom for their Goods, to sell them to any Person, and none to oblige them to sell any under Rate; to have Liberty to pass with such Goods to any Parts, without any Thing being exacted further of them more than at the Port; to have the Presents for the *Mogul* and Prince sealed without opening, and sent to the Ambassador; to have the Goods of any that die secured from Confiscation, and delivered to the other *English* Factors; and in short, that no Injury of any Sort be offer'd to any of them.

The 8th of this Month *Asaph Chan* sent me Word in plain Terms, he would procure nothing for me sealed; but I might be satisfied with an Order from the Prince: Which made me resolve to apply myself directly to the Prince, and apply no more to *Asaph Chan*. Accordingly I was with the Prince the 10th, and the 11th he sent me an Order, but so altered from what I had given in, that I sent it back. But at Night I received a new Order from the Secretary, containing all my Articles; tho' some Words were somewhat ambiguous, which the Secretary interpreted favourably,

bly, and at my Request writ to the Governor of *Surat*, explaining them to him, as he had done to me. He gave me many Assurances of the Prince's Favour; and being a Man not subject to Bribery, I gave the more Credit to him. So I accepted of the Order, which when translated; I found very effectual.

• Several Days passed in soliciting the King and great Ones, and paying Court to them, without any Thing remarkable; till on the 9th of *October* I received Letters from *Surat* with an Account that four *English* Ships were arrived there. *Abdala Chan*, the great Governor of *Ama-dabat*, being sent for to Court in Disgrace, for many Insolencies and Contempts of the King's Authority: It was at first thought he would stand on his Guard, and refuse to appear; but the Prince Sultan *Corone*, whose Ambition laid hold of every Advantage, desiring to oblige so great a Man, as being one of the chief Commanders in *India*, prevailed with him on his Word to submit. So he came sixty Miles on Foot in Pilgrims Cloaths with forty Servants, counterfeiting great Humility, and performed the rest of the Journey in his Palankine, till he came near the Court; but he had 2000 Horse one Days Journey behind him. On the 10th of *October* he was brought to the *Jarruco* (the Place where the King sits in publick to see Sports, and hear Complaints) with Chains at his Heels, and barefoot, led between two Noblemen. He pull'd his Turbant over his Eyes, that he might see no Man, before he had the Happiness to behold the King's Face. After Reverence made, and some few Questions, the King forgave him, caus'd his Irons to be knock'd off, and him to be cloathed with a new Vest of Cloth of Gold, with a Turbant and Girdle suitable.

The 13th of this Month *October*, the King returning from Hunting, sent me a wild Pig. I received Advice that the four *English* Ships before mentioned were safe in the Port of *Soali*. There came six out of *England*, but they lost Company of one in bad Weather, and another was sent to *Bantam*. By the Way they had fought a *Portuguese* Galleon bound for *Goa*; which burnt itself. Upon this News, on the 14th I sent for a *Portuguese* Jesuit residing at the Court,

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and gave him an Account of it, offering a Peace upon equal Terms, which he promised to acquaint the Viceroy of Goa with. Then I visited the Prince, and proposing to him that we might have a Port and Place to fortify, and we would defend his Ships against the ~~Portuguese~~, he rejected it with Scorn. In the Evening I waited on the King with the same Account of our Ships Arrival, and he presently ask'd me what Presents came for him, which I could not give him an Account of. He ordered I should have such Things as I required sent up to Court sealed, without searching or paying any Custom. The 16th, being with the Prince's Secretary about the Dispatch of our Affairs, he moved me by his Highness's Order to procure him two Gunners out of our Fleet to serve him in the *Decan Wars* for good Pay; which I undertook to perform, knowing that indifferent Artists would serve there. This Day *Abdala Chan* came to visit the Prince, so greatly attended that I have not seen the like: His Drums and Musick on Horseback, being about twenty, made Noise enough; then followed fifty Persons carrying white Flags before him, and two hundred Soldiers well mounted in Coats of Cloth of Gold, Velvet and rich Silks, who entered the Gate with him in Order: Next his Person were forty Targetiers in such like Liveries. He made humble Reverence, and presented a black *Arabian*, with his Furniture studded with Flowers of Gold, enamelled and set with small Stones. The Prince, according to Custom, returned a Turbant, a Vest, and a Girdle.

The 19th the *Persian* Ambassador, *Mahomet Raza Beg*, made his Entry into the Town about Noon, with a great Train, partly sent out by the King, to meet him with one hundred Elephants, and Musick, though no Man of greater Quality than the ordinary Receiver of Strangers. The Ambassador's own Retinue were about fifty Horse well equipped, and in Coats of Cloth of Gold, their Bows, Quivers, and Targets, richly garnished, forty Shot, and about two hundred common Foot, and Attendants on the Baggage. He was carried to rest in a Room within the King's outward Court till Evening, when he came to the *Durbar*;

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before the King. I sent my Secretary to observe the Fashion of this Ceremony. When he approached, he made at the first Rail three *Tefelins*, and one *Sizeda*, which is prostrating himself and knocking his Head against the Ground; he did so again within, and so presented *Sba Abas's* Letter, which the King took with a little Motion of his Body, only asking, How does my Brother? without mentioning the Title of Majesty. After some few Words, he was placed in the seventh Rank against the Rail by the Door, below so many of the King's Servants on both Sides, which in my Opinion was a very mean Place for his Master's Ambassador; but he well deserved it, for doing that Reverence which his Predecessors refused, to the Dishonour of his Prince, and the Regret of many of his Nation. It is said he had Order from the *Sophy* to give Content, and it is therefore supposed his Message is for some Supply of Money against the *Turk*, which has often been liberally granted; though at the same Time it is pretended he comes only to meditate a Peace for the *Decans*, whom *Sba Abas* pretends to protect, being jealous of the Increase of this Empire. The King, according to Custom, gave him a handsome Turbant, a Vest of Cloth of Gold, and a Girdle, for which again he made three *Tefelins*, and one *Sizeda*, or Inclination down to the Ground. He brought for Presents three Times nine *Arabian* and *Persian* Horses, this being a ceremonious Number among them; nine Mules, very fair and large, seven Camels laden with Velvet, two Suits of *European* Hangings, which I suppose were not *Arras*, but *Venetian* Velvet wrought with Gold; two Chests of *Persian* Hangings, one rich Cabinet, forty Muskets, five Clocks, one Camel laden with *Persian* Cloth of Gold, eight Carpets of Silk, two Rubies Ballaces, twenty-one Camel Loads of Wine of the Grape, fourteen Camels of distilled sweet Waters, seven of Rose-Water, seven Daggers set with precious Stones, five Swords set after the same Manner, seven *Venetian* Looking-Glasses; and these so fair and rich, that I was out of Countenance when I heard it. These Presents were not delivered now, but only a Note of them. His own Equipage was rich, having nine led Horses strapped in Gold

Gold and Silver. About his Turbant was wound a String of Pearls, Rubies, and *Turky* Stones, and three Pipes of Gold answering to three Feathers. I caused his Reception to be diligently observed, and found he was not favoured above me in any Point, but much less in many Particulars, being placed much inferior than I, and only exceeding in being met out of Town, which by Reason of my Sicknefs was not demanded; nor did the King receive *Sba Abas's* Letter with such Respect as he did my Master's, whom he called the King of *England* his Brother, and the *Persian* barely Brother, without any Addition; which was an Observation of the Jesuit, who understood the Language.

The 20th of *October* I received the Prince's Letter to send for *Surat*, with Orders to the Governor of that Place to sit with the Judge of the Custom-House, and take Care that no Wrong was done the *English*. But as to the Matter of sending up the Presents to me sealed and unsearched, 'twas so unintelligible that it was subject to various Constructions, which I judged to be done designedly, that they might be sent to him to be his own Carver. This made me send it back to his Secretary; and it being returned more intricate than at first, I went to the Prince on the 21st, and desired him to have that Part better explained. He ask'd me how he should have his Presents, or such other Curiosities as came up, and moved me to go with him where they were. I answered, I could not do it till I had delivered my Message and Tokens to the King, but would then attend his Highness with his Presents, and all Rarities that came to my Hands should be sent after him. He press'd me to give my Word for the Performance, and so I obtain'd an Order to my Mind. His Highness looking on a white Feather in my Hat, ask'd if I would give it him. I replied, I would not offer that I had worn, but if he pleased to command it, that or any Thing in my Power was at his Service; and I took his Acceptance as a great Honour. He ask'd whether I had any more; I said, three or four of other Colours; and he ask'd again, whether I would give them all, because he was to show his Horses and Servants to the King within two Days, and wanted some, they being

very rare in those Parts. I promised to bring them all on the Morrow, that his Highness might take what he pleased.

Abdala Chan, in a gallant Equipage both as to his Person and Retinue, though the Apparel was strange and antick, but Soldier-like in those Parts, presented the Prince a white Horse, the Saddle and Furniture of Gold enamel'd, the Beast of delicate Shape, mettlesome, and bold. The Prince returned a plain Sword with a Leather Belt. Many others were brought before him with Silver Hilts, and Chapes set with small Stones, and Targets covered with Velvet wrought with Gold, and some painted and boss'd with Gold and Silver, which he gave to his Servants against the Review. Many Saddles and Furnitures of his own, all of Gold, set with Stones for led Horses, were shown, his Boots embroidered, and all other Accoutrements of State. The Value is wonderful, and the Wealth daily seen inestimable.

In the Evening I went to the *Durbar* to visit the King, where I met the *Persian* Ambassador with the first Show of his Presents. He appeared more like a Jester or Juggler, than a Person of Gravity, running up and down, and acting all he said like a Mimick. He delivered the Presents with his own Hands, which the King received with Smiles, a cheerful Countenance, and Expressions of Satisfaction. His Tongue was a great Advantage to him in delivering his Business; which he did with so much Flattery and Obsequiousness, that it pleased as much as his Gift; ever calling the *Mogul* King, and Commander of the World, forgetting his own Master had a Share in it; and upon every slight Occasion he made his *Teselins*. When all was delivered for that Day, he prostrated himself on the Ground, and knocked it with his Head as if he would have entered it. The Gifts were a Quiver for Bow and Arrows, delicately embroider'd; all Sorts of *European* Fruits, artificial in Dishes; folding Purfes, and Knacks of Leather wrought with Needle-work in coloured Silks; Shoes embroidered and stitched; great Glasses in Frames inlay'd; one square Piece of Velvet, embroidered high with Gold in Panes, between which were *Italian* Pictures wrought in the Stuff, which he said were the

the King and Queen of *Venice*; of these six Pieces were given, but only one shew'd. There were besides many other Curiosities of small Value; after which came three Times nine Horses, which had either lost their Flesh or Beauty, for I thought them all, except two or three, unfit to be sent to, or received by Princes; the Mules were handsome. After this he returned with many antick Tricks to his Place, far inferior to that allowed me, which was alone, and above all Subjects. This is but the first Act of his presenting; the Play will not be finished in ten Days.

The 22d, the Letter the Prince had promised me for the sending up of the Presents unsearched, being again detain'd, I went to his Secretary, who said they could not be sent up without visiting, lest the Merchants under that Pretence should steal Customs. I was offended and going away, but the Secretary prevailed with me to go with him to the Prince, who accepted of some Feathers I brought him; and knowing my Resolution, ordered I should be dispatched to Content. At Night I went to the *Durbar*, to observe the *Persian* Ambassador, and found him standing in his Rank, but often removed and set lower, as great Men came in. The King once spoke to him, and he danc'd to that Musick, but gave no Present, and the *Mogul* ordered he should be feasted by the Nobles. The 24th the King removed to *Havar Gemal*, and sent for the *Persian* Ambassador, who at Night eat and drank before the King with the Nobility, in the same Manner as I had done on the Birth-day. The Difference was, that the *Mogul* gave him 20,000 Roupies for his Expence, for which he made many *Teselins* and *Sizedas*, not rising from the Ground for a considerable Time, which extremely pleased the King, and was base, but profitable Flattery. The 25th the King returned to Court, having been far gone over Night in Wine. Some either accidentally or maliciously spoke of the last merry Night, and that many of the Nobility drank Wine, which none must do without Leave: The King forgetting his Order, ask'd who gave it; and Answer was made, the *Buxy*; for no Man dares say it was the King, when he seems to be willing to make a Doubt of it. The Custom is, that when
the

the King drinks, which is alone, sometimes he will command the Nobility to drink after him, which if they do not, it is looked upon as a Crime ; and so every Man that takes a Cup of Wine of the Officer, has his Name writ down, and he makes his *Teselin*, though perhaps the King's Eyes are clouded. The king not remembering his own Command, called the *Buxy*, and asked whether he gave the Order ; who falsely deny'd it, for he had it from the king, and by Name called all that drank with the Ambassador. The King then called for the List, and Persons named in it, and fined some one, some two, and some three thousand *Roupies* ; and some that were nearer his Person, he caused to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty Stripes with a terrible Instrument, having at the Ends of four Cords, Irons like Spur-rowels, so that every Stroke made four Wounds. When they lay for dead on the Ground, he commanded the Standers by to spurn them, and after that the Porters to break their Staves on them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruis'd, they were carry'd out ; one of them dy'd on the Spot. Some would have excused it, by laying it on the Ambassador ; but the king reply'd, he only ordered a Cup or two to be given him. Though Drunkenness be a common Vice, and an Exercise of the King's, yet is it so strictly forbidden, that no Man can enter the *Guzelcan*, where the king sits, but the Porters smell his Breath, and if he has but tasted Wine, is not suffered to come in ; and if the Reason of his Absence be known, it will be a difficult Matter to escape the Whip ; for if the king once takes Offence, the Father will not speak for the Son. Thus the king made all the Company pay the *Persian* Ambassador's Present.

The 28th, the king's Day of Removal being at Hand, I sent to *Asaph Chan* for a Warrant for Carriages. The Merchants having sought all the Town to remove their Goods to *Agra*, could find none. I being enroll'd by his Majesty, received Order for twenty Camels, four Carts, and two Coaches at the king's Price. Of these I allowed the Factors as many as they needed for their Use. I cannot here omit a Passage either of wonderful Baseness in this great Monarch,

Monarch, or else a Trial put upon me. The king had condemned divers Thieves, among which were some Boys. There was no Way to save their Lives, but to sell them for Slaves. His Majesty commanded *Asaph Chan* to offer two of them to me for Money ; which he appointed the *Cutwal*, that is the Marshal, to do. My Interpreter made Answer, without my knowledge, that Christians kept no Slaves ; that those the king had given me, I had set free, and it was in vain to propose it to me ; yet afterwards of himself he told me of it. I suspected it might be a Trial of me, to see whether I would give a little Money to save the Lives of two Children ; or else, I thought, though it were in Earnest, it were no great Loss to do a good Deed, and try the Baseness or Scope of this Offer. I commanded my Interpreter to go to *Asaph Chan*, and tell him he had acquainted me with the Motion, and his Answer ; that I had reproved him for pretending to deliver my Thoughts in any Case ; and therefore my own Reply was, that if there was any Money to be paid to redeem the Lives of two Children to those whom they had robb'd, or to redeem them from the Law, I was ready to give it, both out of Respect to the king's Commands, and for Charity ; but I would not buy them as Slaves, only pay their Ransom, and free them ; and therefore if he would know the king's Pleasure, that I might give them their Liberty without Offence, I was very willing to do it. *Asaph Chan* reply'd, I might dispose of them as I pleased ; that it was an extraordinary Goodness, and with many Commendations accepted of the Money, desiring me to send it to the *Cutwal*, and to use my own Discretion with the Boys, never offering to inform the king, which was one End of my Liberality. But I resolving not to be imposed upon, lest this should be only a Trick of the Officers to get Money, sent to let the *Cutwal* know what had passed between me and *Asaph Chan*, and that if at Night he would acquaint the king that I had offered to redeem the Prisoners out of Charity, and his Majesty would consent to their Liberty, I was ready to pay the Money, but would not buy them as Slaves, and desired his Majesty to pardon them upon my Redemption. Thus I put them to the Test of their

their own Offer. The Sum demanded did not exceed ten Pounds. The *Cutwal* answered, he would know the king's Pleasure. Some would persuade me this is one of the *Mogul's* signal Favours, to pitch upon such great Men, to whom he will offer the Opportunity of doing Good, as the redeeming of Prisoners; and that the Money is to make Satisfaction to the Party that was robbed; and that these so appointed by the king to ransom others, make the *Sizeda*, as for some Benefit received. I went to the *Durbar*, to see if his Majesty would himself speak to me; the *Cutwal* made many Motions, but I understood nothing. This Day I sent my Secretary to the *Persian* Ambassador, to let him know I would visit him, if he would give his Word to repay the Visit, with other Compliments: Who answered with all Respect, that it was the Custom of the Country for Ambassadors not to visit one another without the king's Leave, which he would move for, and then receive me with all Friendship, and repay my Visit; with many more Expressions of Civility.

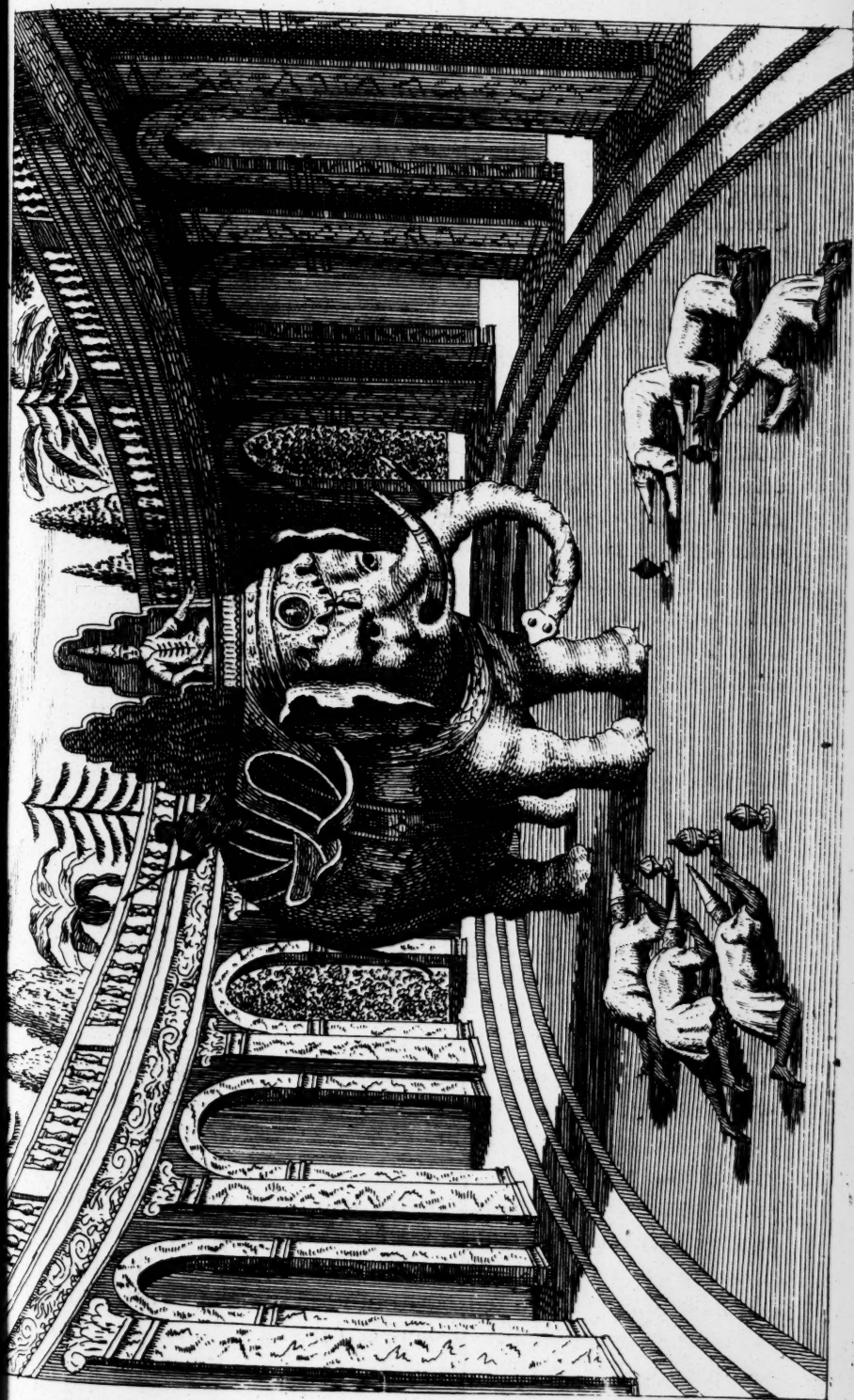
November the first, *Sultan Corone* took his Leave and went to his Tents. The king at Noon sat out in the *Durbar*, whither the Prince brought his Elephants, being about six hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his Followers by Computation one thousand Horse; many of them in Cloth of Gold, with Herons Feathers in their Turbants, all very gallant; the Prince himself in a Coat of Cloth of Silver, embroidered with great Pearl, and glittering with Diamonds like the Firmament. The king embrac'd, kiss'd, and shew'd him much Affection. At his Departure he gave him a Sword, the Scabbard all of Gold set with Stones, valued at above ten thousand Pounds; a Dagger at four thousand Pounds; an Elephant and two Horses, all their Furniture of Gold set with Stones; and for a Close, one of the new Coaches made in Imitation of that sent by the king my Master, and commanded the *English* Coachman to drive him to his Tents. The Prince went into the Coach, and sat in the Middle, the Sides open, his chiefest Nobles on Foot walking by him to his Tents about four Miles distant. All the Way he threw Quarters of Roupies, being

being followed by a Multitude of People. He reach'd his Hand to the Coachman, and put into his Hat about 100 Roupies.

The second t. King removed about three Miles to his Tents, with his Women and all the Court. I went before-hand to attend him; and coming to the Palace, I found him at the *Jarucco* Window, and went upon the Scaffold under him. Not having seen this Place before, I was glad of the Opportunity. Two Eunuchs stood on two Treffels with long Poles and Feather Fans at the End of them, fanning him. He bestow'd many Favours, and receiv'd Presents. What he bestow'd he let down by a Silk String rolled on a turning Instrument; what was given him, a venerable fat de-form'd old Matron, wrinkled and hung round with Gimbles like an Image, pulled up at the Hole with such another Clue. At one Side in a Window were his two principal Wives, whose Curiosity made them break little Holes in a Grate of Reed that hung before it to gaze on me. I saw first their Fingers, and then they laying their Faces close, first the one, and then the other, I could sometimes discern their full Proportion. They were indifferently white, with black Hair smoothed up; but if there had been no other Light their Diamonds and Pearls had sufficed to show them. When I look'd up, they retired; and were so merry that I suppose they laugh'd at me. On a sudden the King rose, we retired to the *Durbar*, and sat on the Carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and sat about Half an Hour, till his Ladies at their Door had mounted their Elephants. which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with Turrets on their Backs, all enclosed with Grates of Gold Wire to look through, and Canopies over of Cloth of Silver. Then the King came down the Stairs with such an Acclamation of Health to the King, as would have out-roar'd Cannon. At the Foot of the Stairs, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carp; another a Dish of white Stuff like Starch, into which he put his Finger, and touch'd the Fish, and so rubb'd on his Forehead; a Ceremony used presaging good Fortune. Then another came, and girt on

his Sword and hung on his Buckler set all over with Diamonds and Rubies, the Belts of Gold suitable. Another hung on his Quiver with thirty Arrows, and his Bow in a Case, being the same that was presented by the *Persian* Ambassador, On his Head he wore a rich Turbant with a Plume of Herons Feathers, not many but long. On one Side hung a Ruby unset, as big as a Walnut; on the other Side a Diamond as large; in the Middle an Emerald like a Heart much bigger. His Staff was wound about with a Chain of great Pearl, Rubies, and Diamonds drill'd. About his Neck he wore a Chain of three Strings of most excellent Pearl, the largest I ever saw. Above his Elbows, Armlets set with Diamonds, and on his Wrists three Rows of several Sorts; his Hands bare, but on almost every Finger a Ring. His Gloves, which were *English*, stuck under his Girdle. His Coat of Cloth of Gold, without Sleeves, upon a fine *Semian*, as thin as Lawn. On his Feet a Pair of Buskins embroidered with Pearl, the Toes sharp and turning up. Thus arm'd and accoutred he went to the Coach that attended him, with his new *English* Servant, who was clothed as rich as any Player, and more gaudy, and had broke four Horses, which were trapp'd and harness'd in Gold Velvets. He sat at the End, and on each Side went two Eunuchs, who carried small Maces of Gold set all over with Rubies, with a long Bunch of Horse Tail to flap the Flies away. Before him went Drums, base Trumpets, and loud Musick, many Canopies, Umbrelloes, and other strange Ensigns of Majesty, made of Cloth of Gold set in many Places with Rubies. Nine led Horses, the Furniture some garnish'd with Rubies, some with Pearls and Emeralds, some only with Studs enamell'd. The *Persian* Ambassador presented him a Horse. Next behind came three Palankines, the Carriages and Feet of one plated with Gold, set at the Ends with Stones, and covered with Crimson Velvet embroidered with Pearl, and a Fringe of great Pearl hanging in Ropes a Foot deep, a Border about it set with Rubies and Emeralds. A Footman carried a Footstool of Gold set with Stones. The other two Palankines were covered and lined only with Cloth of Gold. Next followed the *English* Coach newly covered

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vered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen *Normahal*, who sat in it. After them a third, in which sat his younger Sons. Then followed about twenty Elephants Royal, led for him to mount, so rich in Stones and Furniture that they glittered like the Sun. Every Elephant had sundry Flags of Cloth of Silver, gilt Sattin and Taffety. His Noblemen he suffered to walk on Foot, which I did to the Gate, and left him. His Wives on their Elephants were carried Half a Mile behind him. When he came before the Door where his eldest Son is Prisoner, he stayed the Coach, and call'd for him. He came and made Reverence, with a Sword and Buckler in his Hand, his Beard grown to his Middle, a Sign of Disfavour. The King commanded him to mount one of the spare Elephants, and rode so next to him, with extraordinary Applause and Joy of all Men, who are now fill'd with new Hopes. The King gave him 1000 Roupies to cast to the People. His Gaoler *Asaph Cban*, and all those Monsters were yet on Foot. I took Horse to avoid the Croud and other Inconveniences, and crossed out of the *Lefkar* before him, waiting till he came near his Tents. He passed all the Way between a Guard of Elephants, having every one a Turret on his Back, and on the four Corners of each four Banners of yellow Taffety, and right before a Piece of Cannon carrying a Bullet as big as a Tennis-ball, the Gunner behind it. They were in all about 300. Other Elephants of State went before and behind, being about 600, all which were covered with Velvet, or Cloth of Gold, and had two or three gilded Banners. Several Footmen ran along the Way with Skins of Water to lay the Dust before the King. No Horse or Man was suffered to come within two Furlongs of the Coach, except those that walk'd by on Foot. So that I hastened to his Tents to attend his Alighting. They were walled in about half an *English* Mile in Compass in Form of a Fort, with several Angles and Bulwarks, and high Curtains of a coarse Stuff made like Arras, red on the Out-side, and within Figures in Panes, with a handsome Gatehouse, every Post that bore these up headed with Brass. The Throng was great, I had a Mind to go in; no Man was permitted, the greatest in the

Land sitting at the Door : However I made an Offer, and they admitted me, but refused the *Persian* Ambassador, and all the Noblemen. Here first the *Persian* Ambassador saluted me with a silent Compliment. In the Midst of this Court was a Throne of Mother of Pearl, born on two Pillars raised on Earth, covered over with a high Tent, the Pole headed with a Nob of Gold ; under that Canopies of Cloth of Gold, and under Foot Carpets. When the King drew near the Door, some Noblemen came in, and the *Persian* Ambassador. We stood on both Sides making a Line. The King entering cast his Eyes on me ; I made him Reverence, and he laid his Hand on his Breast and bow'd, and turning to the other Side nodded to the *Persian*. I followed at his Heels till he went up, and every Man cried, Joy and good Fortune ; and so we took our Places. He call'd for Water, wash'd his Hands, and departed. His Women went in some other Way to their Apartment, and his Son I saw not. Within this Inclosure were about thirty Divisions with Tents. All the Noblemen retired to theirs, which were in excellent Forms, some all white, some green, some mix'd, all inclosed as orderly as any House, in the most magnificent Manner I ever saw. The Vale shewed like a beautiful City, for the Baggage made no Confusion. I was ill provided with Carriage, and ashamed of my Equipage ; for five Years Allowance would have hardly provided me an indifferent Suit answerable to others : And to add to the Grandeur every Man has two, so that one goes before to the next Ground, and is set up a Day before the King rises from the Place where he is. So I returned to my poor House.

November the 3th I rode about five Miles to the Prince's Tents. I made his Highness my Compliments of Leave, wishing him Prosperity and Success ; but he ordered me to return and take my Leave two Days after, having presented him some Business about Debts due to the *English*, which he promised to examine and dispatch. He sat with the same Greatness and Magnificence I mentioned of his Father, his Throne being plated over with Silver, inlaid with Flowers of Gold, and the Canopy over it square, born up on four Pillars covered with Silver ; his Arms, Sword, Buckler,

Bows,

Bows, Arrows, and Lance on a Table before him. The Watch was set, for it was Evening when we came abroad. I observed him curiously now he was absolute, and took Notice of his Behaviour and Actions. He received two Letters, and read them standing before he ascended his Throne. I never saw so settled a Countenance, or any Man keep so constant a Gravity, never smiling, nor by his Looks shewing any Respect or Distinction of Persons, but an extreme Pride and Contempt of all. Yet I perceived some inward Trouble now and then assail him, and a kind of Interruption and Distraction in his Thoughts; answering Suitors disorderly, or in Confusion, or not hearing them. If I can judge of it, he has left his Heart among his Father's Women, with whom he has the Liberty of conversing. *Normahall* the Day before went to visit him in the *English* Coach, and took her Leave of him. She gave him a Cloak all embroidered with Pearls, Diamonds, and Rubies, and carried away, if I mistake not, all his Attention for Business. The 9th the Prince being to remove, sent one of his Guard in haste for me. I was not provided to go, but he pressed me; urging his Master stayed for me; that he ordered him not to return without me; that all the Court did talk of the Prince's Favour to me; that it was reported he had desired the King to let me accompany him to the Army; and that he had promised to use me so well, that I should confess his Favour to our Nation. This News made me take Horse after Dinner; but I found him newly risen and marching, but I met a *Dutchman* his Jeweller, who confirmed all the Soldier had said, and added so much more that I believed none of it. I sent Word I was come, and he returned Answer, that I should pass before to the Tents, and sit till he came, and he would speak with me. It was Night before he came; he only looked on me, sat a little, and went in among his Women. As he passed he turned about, and sent a Servant to desire me to stay awhile, and he would come into the *Guzelcan*, and take his Leave of me. Within half an Hour he set out, but I could not get any Man to put him in Mind of me, and he was fallen to play, and either forgot it, or put a Trick of State upon me; so that I stayed an Hour. Being much

much troubled I went to the Door, and told the Waiters that the Prince had sent for me ; that I came only to receive his Orders ; that I had stayed long, and must return to my House, it being late ; and if his Highness had any Business I desired him to send it after me, for I scorned such Usage ; and so went away to take Horse. Before I could mount, Messengers came running for me, and I went in. He excused himself, and blamed his Officers, using me with much Show of Civility ; calling me to see his Cards, and asking me several Questions. The Eunuchs and Officers told me the Prince would make me a great Present, and if I fear'd to ride home late, I should have ten Horse to guard me. The Present came, and was a Cloak of Cloth of Gold which he had worn once or twice, and which they put upon my Back : I made Reverence for it very unwillingly ; and it is here reputed the highest Favour to give a Garment that has been worn by the Prince, or just lain on his Shoulders ; yet this would have become an Actor that had represented his Ancestor *Tamerlane*. Then he bowed, and I had my Discharge ; yet first I urged some Business, and having my Answer, took my Leave. Going out I was followed by his Porters and Waiters in such shameful Manner, that I half paid for my Cloak before I got clear of them.

November the 10th, almost all the Town being removed, I was left behind, having got neither Camels nor Carts, notwithstanding my Warrant ; and the *Persian* Ambassador was under the same Circumstances, who complained, and was soon redressed : Whereupon I sent to Court, and on the 11th received two Warrants for Carts and Camels at the King's Price ; but it was not easy to get either, the great Men having Soldiers every Way to take all up ; and indeed it was wonderful how the whole Town and two *Leskars*, or Camps, that is the King's and Prince's, could remove at once. The 16th the King gave Orders to fire all the *Leskars*, or Huts, at *Adsmere*, to oblige the People to follow him ; which was daily executed. The *Persian* Ambassador and I were left in bad Plight, in Danger of Thieves, who came daily from the Camp to rob ; and almost without Bread to eat. This made me think of buying Beasts and Carriages,

Carriages, which would prove as cheap as hiring ; but first I sent again to Court to make one Trial more.

The 20th of this Month I received a new Warrant for Carriages, which procured me eight Camels, but such poor ones as would not suffice me, and therefore I was forced to take Order to buy the rest. The 22d I removed into my Tents. The 25th I removed six Coffes, but stayed the following Days for the Caravan that was going from *Agra* to *Surat* to send my Papers with Safety. December the 1st I removed four Coffes to *Ramsor*, where the King had left the Bodies of a hundred naked Men, executed in the Fields for Robbing. The 2d seven Coffes, the 3d rested because of the Rain, the 4th five Coffes ; in the Way this Day I met a Camel laden with three hundred Mens Heads, sent from *Candabar* by the Governor as a Present to the King, these Men being in Rebellion. The 5th five Coffes, the 6th four, where I overtook the King at a wall'd Town called *Todab*, in the best Country I saw since my Landing ; being a fair Champaign, at every Cofse a Village ; the Soil fruitful in Corn, Cotton, and Cattle. The 7th the King only removed from one Side to the other of the Town, which was one of the best built I ever saw in *India*, for some Houses were two Stories high, and most of them such as a Pedlar might not scorn to keep Shop in, all covered with Tile. It had been the Seat of a *Raja Rasboote* before the Conquest of *Exbar Sha*, and stood at the Foot of a great Rock very strong, had many excellent Works of hewed Stone about it, many Ponds arched, vaulted, and Descents to them large and deep : By it was a delicate Grove two Miles long and a Quarter broad, planted on Purpose with Mangoes, Tamarinds, and other Fruit-trees divided into Walks, and full of little Temples, and Altars of Pagods, and *Indian* Idolatry, many Fountains, Wells, and Summer Houses of carved Stone, curiously arched ; so that a banished *Englishman* might have been content to live there. But it is a general Observation that all goes to Ruin and Destruction ; for since the Property of all is come to the King, no Man takes Care of any Thing in particular, so that Devastation and the Spoils of War appear in every Place without any Reparation. The 8th I was

was at the King's *Guzelcan*, and found him so near drunk that he made it up in half an Hour, so that I could move no Busir's to him.

The 9th I took a View of the *Leskar*, or King's Camp, which is one of the greatest Wonders I ever beheld, and chiefly for that I saw it set up and finished in less than four Hours, except some of the great Men, who having double Suits of Tents, it being no less than twenty *English* Miles in Compass, the Length some Ways four Miles and a Half including the Skirts: In the Middle where the Streets are orderly and the Tents joined, there are all Sorts of Shops, and so regularly disposed, that every Man knows whither to go directly for what he wants; each Man of Quality, and every Trade being appointed how far from the King's Tents they shall pitch, what Ground they shall take up, and on what Side, without ever altering. All which as it lies together, is almost equal to any Town in *Europe* for Greatness; but no Man must approach the Royal *Ataschanba*, or Quarter, by a Musket-shot every Way; which is now so strictly observed, that none are admitted but by Name, and the Time of the *Durbar* in the Evening is omitted, and spent in Hunting, or Hawking on Pools by Boat, in which the King takes wonderful Delight, and his Barges are removed on Carts with him. He sits on the Sides of these Pools, which are often a Mile or two over. At the *Jarucco* in the Morning he is seen, but Business, or Speech is prohibited, all being concluded at Night in the *Guzelcan*, and there very often the Opportunity is miss'd, his Majesty being overcome by the Fumes of *Bacchus*. The *English* at *Surat* complained of ill Usage at this Time, but their Drunkenness and other Irregularities proceeding from it, were so great in that Place, that it was rather wonderful they were suffered to live.

The 18th of this Month of *December* I visited the King, who having been at his Sports, and having all his Game before him, desired me to take my Choice of the Fowl and Fish, and then distributed the Remainder to the Nobility, I found him sitting on his Throne, and a Beggar at his Feet, a poor silly old Man all ragged and patch'd, with a young Rogue attending him. The Country abounds with these

these professed poor holy Men; and they are held in great Veneration; and in Works of Mortification, and voluntary Sufferings, they outdo all that ever has been pretended either by Hereticks or Idolaters. This miserable Wretch clothed in Rags, crowned with Feathers, covered with Ashes, his Majesty talked with about an Hour so familiarly, and with such seeming Kindness, that it must needs argue an Humility not easily found among Kings. The Beggar sat, which the King's Son dares not do; he gave the King a Present, a Cake mixed with Ashes, burnt on the Coals, and made by himself of coarse Grain, which the King willingly accepted, broke a Bit and eat it, which a nice Person could scarce have done; then he took the Clout and wrapt it up and put it into the poor Man's Bosom, and sent for 100 Roupies, and with his own Hand poured them into the poor Man's Lap, and gathered up for him what fell beside. When his Collation, or Banquet and Drink came, whatsoever he took to eat he broke and gave the Beggar Half; and rising, after many strange Humiliations and Charities, the old Wretch not being Nimble, he took him up in his Arms, tho' no cleanly Body durst have touched him, embracing him, and three Times laying his Hand on his Heart, and calling him Father, left him and all of us, and me in Admiration to see such Virtue in a Heathen Prince, which I mention with Emulation and Sorrow, that we having the true Vine should bring forth a bastard Stock of Grapes; wishing either our Christian Princes had this Devotion, or that this Zeal were guided by a true Light of the Gospel.

The 26th we passed through Woods and over Mountains thick of Bushes, where many Camels perished, many People tired with the Difficulties of an impassable Way, went away to *Agra*, and all complained. I lost my Tents and Carts, but by Midnight we met again. The King rested two Days, for the *Leshkar* could not in less Time recover their Order; many of the King's Women, and thousands of Coaches, Carts and Camels, lying in the woody Mountains without Meat or Water: He himself got through on a small Elephant that will climb up Rocks, and pass

such Straits, that no Horſe or Beaſt I have ſeen can follow him. The 29th we lay by the River of *Chambet*.

The 11th of *February*, the King rode to *Ugen*, to ſpeak with a Dervife, or religious Man living on a Hill, who is reported to be 300 Years old. I thought this Miracle not worth my examining. This Day I received Advice by a Foot Poſt that the Prince had ſtopt the Presents as they were coming to me, but not broken them open, hoping to compel the *Engliſh* to conſent to it, which by my Orders they would not do. The Prince at the ſame Time ſent to the King to acquaint him with his ſtopping ſome Goods, without mentioning they were Presents, and to deſire his Leave to buy what he thought fit. This faithleſs Proceeding of the Prince, contrary to his Word, and Orders under his Hand, obliged me to have Recourſe to the King for Redreſs, being now blameleſs in the Eyes of all the World for taking this Courſe. I was afraid to go to *Aſaph Chan* to introduce me, leſt if he knew of the Wrong done he ſhould prevent me; and yet I durſt not well provoke him by uſing any other Means. The Prophet Dervife, or religious Man the King went to viſit, offered me an Opportunity of doing my Buſineſs; and my new Interpreter, a *Greek* I had ſent for from *Adſmere*, was ready. I rode and met his Maſteſty on his Elephant, and alighted, making Signs to ſpeak. The King turned his Monſter to me, and prevented me; ſaying, my Son has taken your Goods and my Presents, be not ſad, he ſhall not touch nor open a Seal or Lock. At Night I will ſend him a Command to free them. He graciouſly added, that he knew I came full of Complaint, and to eaſe me he began firſt. Upon the Way I could do no more; but at Night without further ſeeking to *Aſaph Chan*, I went to the *Guzelcan*, reſolving to proſecute the Complaint of forcing back our Goods, and all other Grievances. As ſoon as I came in, the King called my Interpreter, and declared by his own that he had written and ſent his Command very effectually, that not a Hair ſhould be diminiſhed. I replied, the Injury was ſuch, and the Charge and Abufe of our Liberty by the Prince's Officers, that I deſired Redreſs, being no longer able to endure

endure it. It was answered, that what was past I must remit to his Son; but by *Asaph Chan's* Mediation I could procure nothing but good Words, for he smoothed on both Sides. So I was forced to seem content, and to seek an Opportunity in the Absence of my false Friend and Procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the Laws of *Moses, Christ, and Mahomet*, and in his Drink was so kind, that he turned to me, and said, If I am a King you shall be welcome, *Christians, Moors, and Jews*; he meddled not with their Faith; they came all in Love, and he would protect them from Wrong; they lived under his Protection, and none should oppress them. This he often repeated; but being very drunk, fell to weeping, and into divers Passions, and so kept us till Midnight.

Afterwards the King had caused the Chests to be privately brought to him, and had opened them; which I resolved not to put up, and having obtained Audience, made my Complaint. He received me with much mean Flattery, more unworthy him, than even the Action he had done. I suppose he did it to appease me, seeing by my Countenance I was highly provoked. He told me he had found several Things that pleased him extreamly, and among them two embroidered Sweet-bags, two Glass Cabinets, and the Mastiff Dogs: That if I would not give him any of these Things, he would restore them, for he would have me pleased. I answered, there was little but what was designed for him; but that this was not a civil Way of dealing with the King my Master, and I knew not how to give him to understand that the Presents had been seized, and not delivered by me, as he had appointed. That some of the Presents were for the Prince, and some for the Queen *Nor-mahal*; the rest to remain in my Hands, to make Use of as Occasion offered, to move his Majesty to protect us against the Wrongs offered us by Strangers. That there were some few for my Friends, and for my own Use; the rest belong'd to the Merchants, and were not at my Disposal. He desired me not to take it ill that he had caused them to be brought to him; that those Things had pleased him so well, he had not the Patience to stay till I presented them, and he

thought he had done me no Wrong, believing it was my Intention he should be first served in the Distribution of the Presents. As for the King of *England*, he would satisfy him, and make my Excuse. That the Prince, Queen *Nor-mahal*, and he, were all one; and for the Presents to be kept to use as Occasion offered, that was a needless Ceremony; for he would give me Audience at any Time, and I should be well received, though I came empty-handed, he being sensible it was not my Fault that I came so. Then he began to talk of his Son, and told me he would restore Part of what he had taken, and satisfy the Merchants for what belonged to them. In Conclusion, he desired me not to take what he had done in ill Part, for he had no Design to wrong me. I made no Answer to all this: Whereupon he pressed me to speak my Mind, asking me several Times whether I was satisfied; I replied, I was very well pleased to see his Majesty was so. Then he began to reckon up all the Things he had taken, beginning with the Mastiffs, the Sweet-bags, and the Case for Combs and Razors; and smiling said, You would not have me restore those Things, for I have a Mind to them.

After some more Discourse about other Trifles, he said I must needs help him to one of our large Horses, to a Brace of *Irish* Greyhounds, Dog and Bitch, and other Dogs of all Sorts, for Game; which if I would procure him, he protested on the Word of a Prince he would gratify me, and grant me more Privileges than I should think of asking. I answered, I would order them to be put aboard the next Ships, but could not answer they would out-live so tedious a Voyage; but in case they died, to convince him I had obeyed his Commands, the Skins and Bones should be brought him. Upon this Promise he bowed to me several Times, laid his Hand on his Breast, and shewed me so much Kindness, Favour, and Familiarity, that all there present protested he had never done the like to any Man. This was the Reward I had; but he said further, he would make Amends for the Wrong he had done me, and send me Home to my Country laden with Favours worthy a Person of my Rank. Nevertheless, perceiving I had only fair Words for
the

the Merchandize, I again asked his Majesty for the Pieces of Velvet and Silks, as Commodities belonging to the Merchants, making him believe the Merchants had put them into those Chests, only to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Prince's Officers. He sent for Mr. *Biddolfe*, to agree with and satisfy him. Then I presented a Memorial, containing the Privileges and Franchises I desired, saying, if he would not grant them, I should have the Dissatisfaction of being useles in my Employment to my Prince, and consequently return Home in Disgrace. I pressed the Payment of a Debt: He answered, I should have Satisfaction in all Things, and return Home to my Prince with Honour; that he would send him a noble Present by me, and with it a Letter, certifying the good Service I had done. Then he pressed me to tell him what Present I thought would be most acceptable. I said, it would not look well in me to ask a Present; that it was not the Custom of our Country; that it was against my Master's Honour to do any such Thing; but that I was sure his Majesty would receive any Thing he sent with much Satisfaction, as coming from a Prince for whom he had a great Esteem. He was so earnest with me, and made such Protestations of Sincerity, that I was forced to tell him that the great *Persian* Carpets were proper to send, because my Master did not expect Presents of great Value. Whereupon he told me he would chuse a good Quantity of all Sorts and Sizes, and what he thought most proper to convince the King of the Esteem he had for him. There was a Quantity of all Sorts of Game laid before him. He gave me half a Buck, and told me at the same Time he had killed it with his own Hand, and designed the other half for his Women. That half was accordingly cut in Pieces of about four Pounds Weight each, and immediately the King's third Son and two Women came out of the *Seraglio*, took up those Pieces of Flesh in their Hands, and carried them into the *Seraglio*, as if they had been Beggars that had received them for Charity. He then repeated his Expressions of Desire to satisfy me; and added, I have often admired, that your Master having sent you with the Character of Ambassador, your Presents have been

been inferior to those a Merchant you have seen here has brought, which have gained him the Affection of all Men. I own, as an Ambassador, your Behaviour speaks you a Man of Quality, and yet I cannot understand why you are kept here with so little of Grandeur. I am satisfied it is not your's nor your Prince's Fault, and I will make you sensible I value you more than those that sent you. I will send you Home with Honour, and give you a Present for your Master, without regarding those I have received; and in return I desire but one Thing of you, which I do not care to commit to the Merchants. It is to get me a Quiver made in your Country to carry my Arrows, a Case for my Bow, a Pattern whereof shall be given you, a Pillow after my Manner to sleep on, a Pair of Buck-skins, which you shall cause to be embroidered in *England*, the richest that may be, and a Coat of Mail for my own wearing. I promised to send for them, and *Asaph Chan* was commanded to give Patterns. The Night being spent in this Discourse, the Prince rose up and dismissed me.

March the third I came to *Mandoa*: The King was expected to make his Entry there, but the Day was not yet fixed; for he expected the Astrologers should assign an auspicious Hour for performing that Ceremony; so we staid without, waiting that happy Moment.

The 6th I went into *Mandoa*. The 11th I set out to go meet the King; but was told, that a Lyon having kill'd some Horses of his Train, he was gone out to hunt him. I spent some Time in seeking Water; for though the City was on a Hill, there was no Wells, nor Cisterns; such is the Forecast of those People. All that Multitude of People there were in Danger of perishing with Thirst. The great Men at Court had taken Possession of those Wells there were in the Country about, so that I could get no Water. All the poor People were forced to leave the Town; and an Order was set forth for all Beasts and Camels to be sent out. All that had not Favour, were forced to seek other Habitations three or four Leagues from thence.

I cannot but declare, that in my Travels following the *Mogul's* Court, I endured all the Inconveniences Men are
subject

subject to under an ill Government, and in an untemperate Climate.

The 12th of *March* I presented the King for a New-Year's Gift, a Couple of fine Knives and six Glasses, from the Company; and he took in good Part the Excuse I made for the Smallness of the Present. He commanded one of his Officers to call Mr. *Biddolfe* immediately, and to pay him what he demanded. All our Creditors had Orders at the same Time to pay what they owed the Company. Then the King ordered me to come up the Steps of his Throne, and draw near him. I obeyed, and found the *Persian* Ambassador on the one Side of him, and the old King of *Candabar* on the other. As soon as I had taken my Place near that Prince, he asked me for a Knife, which I sent him the next Day. Then the King called the *Persian* Ambassador, and gave him some Stones and a young Elephant: He knelt and knocked his Head against the Steps of the Throne to thank him. This was the same Throne that served the Year before, and was then mentioned, having the same Ornaments about it. Over the Throne were the Pictures of the King my Master, the Queen, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and some others. Under it were two very fine *Persian* Carpets. The Throne itself, as has been said, was of Gold set with Rubies, Emeralds, and *Turky* Stones. On one Side, upon a little Stage or Scaffold, was a Company of Women Musicians.

The 30th of this Month I sent *Asaph Chan* a Compliment, with a Present of a Pair of Gloves, and a curious Night-Cap. He sent back the Gloves, as of no Use in that Country; but the Cap he received, and sent to beg some *Spanish* Wine of me, which I sent him the next Day.

The 30th of *April*, the *Persian* Ambassador sent to excuse himself to me, for going away without paying his Respects to me. His Messenger told me he was not sick, as he pretended; but that finding no Success in his Negotiations with the King, he had taken his Leave, and at parting gave him thirty fine Horses. The King in Return presented him 3000 Crowns, and the Ambassador testified his Dissatisfaction at that Gift. The King, to justify himself, caused

caused two Lifts to be drawn ; one of them of the Ambafador's Presents, with the Price set on every one, but lower much than what they were really worth : In the other were set down even the meanest Things the King had given him, not omitting the Melons, Pine-Apples, and *Spanifh* Wine sent him, with their Prices ; but much above the real Value. These two Lifts being laid before the Ambaffador, they offered him the rest of the Money to make up the Balance. This ill Usage made the *Persian* feign himself sick of a Fever, to avoid visiting *Asaph Chan*, and *Etimon Doulet*. Therefore he said he could not cross the Town to see me, without discovering the Counterfeit ; but to make Amends had sent to let me know the Truth, and would serve my Nation in his Country to the utmost of his Power. I presented him some *Spanifh* Wine, and a few Knives.

The first of *September* being the King's Birth-Day, and of the Solemnity of weighing him, I was conducted into a fine Garden ; where, besides others, there was a great square Pond with Trees set about it, and in the Midst of it a Pavilion or Tent, under which were the Scales the King was to be weighed in. The Scales were of beaten Gold, set with small Stones, Rubies, and Turquoises ; they hung by Chains of Gold, and for more Surety there were Silk Ropes. The Beam was covered with Plates of Gold. The great Lords of the Nation sat about the Throne on rich Carpets, expecting the King's coming out. At length he appeared covered with Diamonds, Rubies, and Pearls. He had several Strings of them about his Neck, Arms, Wrists, and Turbant, and two or three Rings on every Finger. His Sword, Buckler, and Throne, were also covered with precious Stones. Among the rest I saw Rubies as big as Walnuts, and Pearls of a prodigious Magnitude. He got into one of the Scales, sitting on his Legs like a Tailor : Into the other Scale, to weigh against him, were put several Parcels, which they changed six Times. The Country People told me they were full of Silver, and that the King that Day weighed nine thousand Roupies. Then they put into the same Scale Gold and precious Stones ; but being packed up, I saw them not. After that he was weighed against

Cloth

Cloth of Gold, Silks, Callicoes, Spices, and all other Sorts of precious Commodities, if we may believe the Natives, for all those Things were pack'd up. Lastly he was weighed against Honey, Butter, and Corn, and I was informed all that was to be distributed amongst the *Banians*; but I think that Distribution was not made, but that all those Things were carefully carried back. They told me all the Money was kept for the Poor, the King using to cause some to be brought at Night, and to distribute that Money among them very charitably. Whilst the King was in one of the Scales, he looked upon me and smiled, but said never a Word, perhaps because he did not see my Interpreter, who could not get in with me. After being weighed he ascended the Throne. Before him there were Basons full of Almonds, Nuts, and all Sorts of Fruit artificially made in Silver. He threw about a great Part of them, the greatest Noblemen about him scrambled for them. I thought it not decent to do so; and the King observing it, took up one of those Basons which was almost full, and poured it out into my Cloak. His Courtiers had the Impudence to thrust in their Hands so greedily, that had I not prevented them, they had not left me one. Before I came in, they had told me those Fruits were of massy Gold; but I found by Experience they were only Silver, and so light, that a thousand of them do not weigh the Value of twenty Pounds. I saved the Value of ten or twelve Crowns, and those would have filled a large Dish. I keep them to show the Vanity of those People. I do not believe the King that Day threw away much above the Value of an hundred Pounds. After this Solemnity the King spent all the Night in drinking with his Nobles: I was invited, but desired to be excused, because there was no avoiding drinking, and their Liquors are so hot they will burn a Man's very Bowels. I was then ill of a Flux, and durst not venture such a Debauch.

September the 9th the King went to take the Air upon the Banks of the River *Darbadat*, and I took Horse to meet him. It is the Custom there that the Masters of all the Houses by whose Door the King passes must make him some Present; which Gift is called *Maubarech*, signifying

good News, or good Success. These Presents the King takes as a good Omen of the Success of what he has in Hand. I had nothing to give him, and it was a Shame to appear before him empty handed; besides, it had been ill Manners in me not to be at home upon that Day: I resolved therefore to present him an Atlas neatly bound, and make him this Compliment, that my House affording nothing worthy the Acceptance of so great a Prince, I presented him with all the World, he being Master of so considerable and wealthy a Part of it. He received my Present very courteously, often putting his Hand to his Breast, and protesting that any Thing from me was always very acceptable to him. After other courteous Expressions, he told me he had received some wild Boars sent him from *Goa* extraordinary fat, and if I would eat any he would send me some. I made my profound Obedience, and answered, I should receive any Thing that came from his Majesty with the utmost Satisfaction and Respect. He mounted his Elephant, and having made a little Halt before my Lodging, liked it very well, for it was one of the best in the Camp, and I had built it out of the Ruins of a Temple and an antient Tomb. He took Leave of me several Times, and would needs have me return to my Lodging because the Way was very bad. I took my Leave, and obey'd him.

The 16th I went to pay the King of *Candabar* a Visit, who sent me Word at his Door, that he could not receive me without the King's Leave, or acquainting *Etimon Doullet*, or *Asaph Chan*, which he would do at the *Durbar*. I sent him Word he might spare his Labour, for I would take Care not to come a second Time to a Person so ill bred. His Servants would have staid me to carry in my Answer; but I went away, and at Night was at Court, where the King asked me several Questions about my Book of Maps.

October the 6th I went to visit the Prince upon his Arrival, having need of him for our Business. I designed to offer him the Service of our Nation, and present him with a Gold Chain made in *China*. When I sent to desire Audience, Word was brought me I might come in the Morning at

Break

Break of Day, or stay till he went out to see the King, which I must have done at the Door. I took this as an Affront, having never been refused Audience by his Father ; and therefore shew'd my Resentment, saying, I was none of his Slave, but free, and the Ambassador of a King, and would take care not to visit, or make Court to him any more ; and since he refused me Justice, I would for the future seek it elsewhere : Accordingly at Night I went to the King, who received me with much Civility. I bow'd to the Prince, and he would not take Notice he saw me. I gave the King an Account of what he had required of me, and told him I had brought an Inventory of Goods in pursuance to his Commands. He asked several Questions, and seemed well pleased at what was in the Inventory, promising me all Favours and Privileges I could desire. He asked whether our Ships had brought any Pearls, or precious Stones ; to which I answered, they were dearer in *England* than in his Dominions ; which Answer seemed to satisfy him. I durst not say there were Pearls, fearing that would set the Prince upon persecuting our People ; besides, I thought those Pearls would be the more valued being the less expected, and hoped to make a Friend with them : And, therefore, when *Asaph Chan* pressed me to tell him whether we had any Jewels, I declared to him, I would have him second the Answer I had given, that they were dearer in *England* than in *India*, and I had something to say to him in private : He took me at half a Word, and said no more. The King seeming to me to be then in a good Disposition towards us, I thought it a proper Season to mention our Debts ; and having then the Petition ready drawn about me, took it out, and held it up to present it. The King having his Thoughts perhaps otherwise employed at that Time, did not observe it ; but his Courtiers presently imagined what it might be, and believing that he would be very angry that his Orders were not obeyed, one of them slyly drew near, and pulled down my Hand, desiring me not to present that Petition to the King. I told him, *Aradeib* had refused to do me Justice. He hearing what I said was very uneasy, and applying himself to *Asaph Chan*, desired him not to let me make

my Complaint. I urged, our Ships being now come, we could suffer no longer Delays and Loss of Time. They consulted what was to be done, and calling for the *Cutwall*, told him he must execute the King's Orders. That same Night our Debtors Tents were beset, others were pursued, so that I believe this Time we shall have Justice done us. I had many Thanks returned me for the Civility used by the *English* towards the Passengers that were on board the Queen Mother's Ship, and for protecting that Vessel against the Pirates of our Nation. They represented the Thing well to the King, and the great Men told me they had Reason to love the *English*, that they would do us all the Service in their Power ; but that they wondered our King could not command his Subjects, and that any should presume to take Ships out of the Kingdom without his Leave. *Asaph Chan* and I withdrew to translate the Inventory into *Persian* for the King : I somewhat increased the Article of the Money, that he might have the better Opinion of our Trade. I concluded, desiring his Majesty to allow us the Liberty of selling the rest. This done, *Asaph Chan* put me in Mind I had something to say to him in private. I told him it was true, I had some Rarities come, but I had fared so ill the last Year by having my Secret divulged, that now I dar'd trust none but him ; and therefore on his Word of Secrecy and Advice, I declared I had a Pearl of great Value, and some other Rarities, and knew not whether I should tell the King, lest the Prince should become our utter Enemy. I gave him an Account of what happened going to visit him in the Morning, that I was still sensible we stood in need of his Favour, and had therefore kept that Pearl to make him our Friend, to which I desired his Advice. He embraced me, and said I had done wisely, but must keep the Secret, or it would breed me Trouble : That the Prince was a Tyrant, and mis-used all Strangers. All this I saw tended to get the Pearl out of my Hands, advising me to send for it and trust no Man, telling me Instances of the ill Usage of the *Portuguese* upon the like Occasions. That if I would sell him the Pearl, he would deposite the Money I should value it at in the Hands of a third Person ; and in Return for the Confidence

Confidence I reposed in him, he would solicit our Business, which could never be done without him. I said I would serve him, but feared he would reveal the Secret: He swore he would keep it, and to make the Oath the more solemn, we squeezed one another's Thumbs, as is the Custom of the Country. I promised on my Part to rely wholly on him, and do all Things according to his Direction. He said he would get me Orders that our Goods should not be touched, but left wholly at my Disposal; that he would reconcile the Prince and me, and I should be better used than I had been, have a particular Judge assigned that should take Care of our Business, and all the Satisfaction we could wish. He said it would be proper to make his Sister Queen *Normaball* a Present, and she would prevail with the King to give me Money. To this I replied, I had rather his Majesty should bestow his Favours on our Nation in general. Then he carried me to the King, to whom I presented the Inventory translated: I had a favourable Reception. He asked me whether there was any Tapestry? I said some was sent me, if it were not seized by the Way by the Prince's Order. He said he would take a good Quantity of our Cloths, and other Commodities, directing me to have them brought, and *Asaph Chan* to draw up the Order for their free Passage. I was well pleased with this Days Success; for though Experience had taught me, that there was no Faith among those Barbarians, yet I had no Cause to mistrust *Asaph Chan*, when it was his Interest to be faithful to me, till he had got the Pearl, which he might otherwise have missed of; nor could I suspect him afterwards, because he could not betray my Secret without discovering his own Falshood to the Prince.

The 12th *Asaph Chan* according to Promise went with me to the Prince, who received me in his Chamber, where I presented him with a small Gold Chain made in *China*, on a Salver of that Country. *Asaph Chan* persuaded him to deal more kindly with us than he had done, representing the Profit our Trade would yield him, and the Loss it would be if we went away. The Prince immediately directed his Secretary to draw the Order to our Mind, and write a Letter

ter to the Governor to see it executed ; adding I should have any other Letter I desired. This made me sensible of the poor Spirits of those People. *Asaph Chan* was become so much our Friend in hopes to buy some Trifles, that he would have betrayed his own Son to serve us, and was my humble Servant. He would needs send one of his Servants aboard our Ships for this Purpose, which I could not refuse him ; besides, it is no Loss to us, for he is a good Pay-master, bought by Wholesale, what we must have sold by Retail, and saved us the Charge of Carriage. He obtained an Order from the Prince to this effect, and writ a kind Letter to the Governor in our behalf. I now also obtained an Order from the Prince for *Bengala*, which before he would not let me speak of. Afterwards I found he prosecuted our Debtors, as if they had been his own ; and as he passed before the Cutwall's House, called him out to bid him be speedy in our Business, which was an unparalleled Favour. The next Day *Asaph Chan* sent one of his Servants in the Queen's Name, to acquaint me that she had obtained another Order from the Prince, that all our Goods for the future should be under her Protection ; that this was done, and she was about sending one to see what else we wanted, and to take Care that no Wrong was offered us. *Asaph Chan* sent Word he had done this for Fear of the Prince's passionate Temper, and his Delays in those Affairs ; but now we might be secure, since his Sister had undertook our Protection, for the Prince would meddle in it no more ; and that he engaged on his Honour that all Things directed for me should be delivered to me. That she had sent a positive Order, directing the Person that carried it to be assisting to our Factors, that they might have no Cause to complain of the Officers of *Surat*. She further desired me to write to the Captain of the Ship and to the Factors, to be kind to her Messenger, and let him buy some of those Toys that had been laid aside. This I could not refuse, but gave her a List of them, upon Condition she would show me a Copy of the Order, which was sealed. This shows how easy it is to sell such Commodities here. Last Year they did not regard us, now the List or Inventory is translated ;

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yet without mentioning the Pearls I had given the King, every one runs to buy. Most of the great Men at Court desired me to give them Letters to send their Servants to deal with our Factors; so that if I had been furnished with three Times the Quantity of Goods, they had been sold aboard the Ships, and we had saved the Duties, Carriage, and the Seizures made before. I writ to our Factors to sell to *Nor-mahal's* and her Brother's Servants what Goods they desired, even of those set apart, that I might be supported by their Interest at Court.

November the 6th I went to *Asaph Chan*, and show'd him the Pearls according to Promise. He told me they were not fit for that Country, which was afterwards confirmed to me by others; yet he was so pleased I had kept my Word with him, that I believe I may say as *Pharaoh* did, *The Land is before you, settle where you please*. We spoke not of the Price of the great Pearl. He promised to keep the Secret, assuring me that for my Sake, and because I had confided in him, he would give more for it than it was worth, and pay ready Money; for he had a great deal, and would lend me some if I had Occasion. I had all imaginable good Words from him, and some good Actions. He further told me there was little Difference in that Country between Giving and Selling; which I found by Experience to be true. After this familiar Discourse in his Bed-chamber, he rose up to go to Dinner, and invited me and my Retinue. I dined at a Table apart, because they make a Scruple of eating with us.

The 10th I visited *Asaph Chan*, on Account of a Complaint I received that we were not allowed to lay our Ships ashore, the Prince having been informed we intended to build a Fort at *Soali*, and that our Ships were to that Purpose loaded with Brick and Lime. This Jealousy sprung from our Mens bringing their Ships ashore to careen them. The Report was so hot that I was forced to go to Court to clear myself, and had much ado to undeceive the King; this Conceit being more strongly fixed in them, because I had not long before asked a Port of the King for that Purpose. Yet this did not prevent his sending down a Body of Horse
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to demolish a Brick Fort that was at the Mouth of that River. They disarmed our Men, but the Arms were put into the Custom-house, and only the Sailors had theirs taken away. I told *Asaph Chan* I could not live in Servitude; that there was no Honour in a Prince who granted a favourable Order one Day, and recalled it the next; and that I should be blamed if I staid any longer after such Usage. He said he would that Night acquaint the King before the Prince, and return me his Answer. The 30th he told me Wonders of the Mogul's Kindness for the King my Master, my Nation, and for me in particular; adding, he had run the Hazard of losing the Prince's Favour to serve us, but that he should soon be in a Condition to do it effectually; for he was about being Governor of *Surat*, which the Prince must quit, having the Government of *Amadabat* and *Cam-baya* conferr'd on him: And to demonstrate he was real, desired me to be with the King at Night, with the King my Master's Letter translated into *Persian*, advising me to complain, and desire Leave to be gone, and I should see how he would second me. In the Evening I attended the King, found a great Court, presented my Letter; and *Etimon Doulet*, at the Request of *Asaph Chan*, read the *Persian* Translation. The King said he would take upon him to conclude a Peace between us and the *Portuguese*, answer his Majesty's Letter, and perform all he desired in it. However I ask'd Leave to return to *England*. The King and Prince had some Contest about this Matter, the latter saying he got nothing by our Stay at *Surat*, and was willing we should be gone. Here *Asaph Chan* stood up boldly, and said the Kingdom gained considerably by our Trade, and was in some Measure secured by it; that the Prince's Officers used us ill, and it was impossible for us to stay without Redress; and therefore it were better for his Majesty to dismiss us, than keep us to suffer new Wrongs. The Prince in a Passion said he had never wronged us, but that on the contrary, at his Suit he had lately granted us an Order. It is true, replied *Asaph Chan*, you granted them the Order as they desired it, but ten Days after you sent another to recall it: Adding that his Honour suffered by this Breach of Faith;

Faith; that he had no Interest in it, and only spoke with Respect to the King's Justice and Reputation. For our Usage *Asaph Chan* referred it to me, who had often complained that our Goods were taken from us forcibly these two Years last past; that we could never get Payment, and his Officers still used the same Violence every Fleet that came; that if the Prince was weary of us, it were better for him to turn us out, and he might be sure we would do ourselves Right upon the Sea. Does the Prince, or the King, said he, maintain this Ambassador? He is a Stranger that follows the Court at his own Expence; if his Goods are forcibly taken from him, and he can procure no Payment, how can he subsist? This was spoke with much Heat, and the King two or three Times repeated, *Violence, Violence*, severely checking the Prince. This open Breach with the Prince succeeded as *Asaph Chan* had forecasted; for we were pay'd all that was due to us at *Surat*, and the Custom-house Officers had Orders to treat us better for the future. I am satisfied had I not fallen out with the Prince, I should never have made Good of it. I told the Prince's Messenger before the *English* Merchants, that if he offered any Violence to me, or my Merchants, it would cost him some Blood; that I would ship myself aboard his own Vessels, taking them out of his Ports, and would carry them into *England*.

*** *The rest of Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, related chiefly to Trade and the Business of the Company; but the following Letters contain some remarkable Particulars and Observations not mentioned in his Journal.*

Extract of a Letter of Sir Thomas Roe's to the Company.

AT my first Audience, the Mogul prevented me in Speech, bidding me welcome as to the Brother of the King my Master; and after many Compliments I deliver'd his Majesty's Letter, with a Copy of it in *Persian*: Then I shew'd my Commission, and delivered your Presents, that

No. 33.

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is, the Coach, the Virginals, the Knives, a Scarf embroidered and a rich Sword of my own. He sitting in his State, could not well see the Coach, but sent many to view it, and caused the Musician to play on the Virginals, which gave him Content. At Night, having staid the Coachman and Musician, he came down into a Court, got into the Coach, and into every Corner of it, causing it to be drawn about. Then he sent to me, though it was Ten o'Clock at Night, for a Servant to put on his Scarf and Sword after the *English* Fashion, which he was so proud of, that he walked up and down drawing and flourishing it, and has never since been seen without it: But after the *English* were come away, he asked the *Jesuit*, whether the King of *England* was a great King, that sent Presents of so small Value, and that he looked for some Jewels.

There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see Men so fond of Drink, as the King and Prince are of red Wine, whereof the Governor of *Surat* sent up some Bottles, and the King has ever since solicited for more: I think four or five Casks of that Wine will be more welcome than the richest Jewel in *Cheapside*. For the Queen, fine Needlework Toys, Bone-laces, Cut-work, and some handsome wrought Waistcoats, Sweet-bags, and Cabinets, will be most convenient. I must add, that any fair *China* Bedsteads, or Cabinets, or Trunks of *Japan*, are here rich Presents.

Lately the King of *Visapour* sent his Ambassador with thirty-six Elephants, two of them with all their Chains of wrought beaten Gold, two of Silver, the rest of Brasses, and four rich furnished Horses, with Jewels to the Value of ten Lecks of Roupies. Yet withal he sent *China* Ware, and one Figure of Chrystal, which the King valued more than all that Mass of Wealth.

This Place is either made, or of itself unfit for an Ambassador; for though they understand the Character, yet they have much ado to understand the Privileges due to it, and the rather because they have been too humbly sought to before.

Extract of a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

LA W S these People have none written ; the King's Judgment binds, who sits and gives Sentence once a Week, with much Patience, both in civil and criminal Causes, where sometimes he sees the Execution done by his Elephants, with too much Delight in Blood.

His Governors of Provinces rule by his *Firmaes*, which are his Letters, or Commissions authorizing them, and take Life and Goods at Pleasure.

There are many Religions, and in them many Sects. *Moors* or *Mahometans* following *Hali* ; and such is the King. *Banians* or *Pythagoreans*, believing the Transmigration of Souls, and therefore will not kill the Vermin that bite them, for Fear of dislodging the Soul. They often buy many Days Respite from killing any Flesh in a Province or City, merely out of Charity. Idolaters there are of several Sorts, their Wives adorning the Funeral Piles, and casting themselves into the Flames with great Joy.

The Extent of this Dominion is on the West to *Syndu*, on the North-West to *Candabar*, on the North almost to the Mountain *Taurus*, on the East to the Borders of *Ganges*, and South-East all *Bengala*, the Land forming the Gulph down to *Decan*. It is much greater than the *Persian* Monarchy, almost, if not quite, equal to the *Turkish*. *Agra*, the ordinary Residence of the King, is near a thousand Miles from any of the Borders, and farther from some. The right Issue of *Porus* is here a King in the Midst of the Mogul's Dominions, never subdued till last Year ; and to say the Truth, he is rather bought than conquered, won to own a Superior by Gifts, and not by Arms. The Pillar erected by *Alexander* is yet standing at *Delli*, the antient Seat of the Ancestors of *Rama*, the Successor of *Porus*.

The Buildings are all built of Mud, one Story high, except in *Surat*, where there are some of Stone. I know not by what Policy the King seeks the Ruin of all the antient Cities which were nobly built, and now lie desolate and in Rubbish.

Rubbish. His own Houses are of Stone, handsome and uniform. His great Men build not, for Want of Inheritance ; but as far as I have yet seen, live in Tents, or Houses worse than our Cottages : Yet, where the King likes, as at *Agra*, because it is a City erected by him, the Buildings, as is reported, are fair and of carved Stone.

In Revenue he doubtless exceeds either *Turk* or *Persian*, or any Eastern Prince, the Sums I dare not name ; but the Reason. All the Land is his ; no Man has a Foot. He maintains all that are not Mechanicks by Revenues bestowed on them reckoned by Horses, and the Allowance of many is greater than the Estates of *German* Princes. All Men rise to greater and greater Lordships as they advance in Favour, which is got by frequent Presents rich and rare. The Mogul is Heir to all that die, as well those that gained it by their Industry, as Merchants, &c. as those that live by him. He takes all their Money, only leaving the Widow and Daughters what he pleases. To the Sons of those that die worth two or three Millions, he gives some small Lordship to begin the World anew.

The King sits out in three several Places at three Times of the Day, except something extraordinary hinders him : An Hour at Noon, to see the Elephants fight ; from Four till Five, to entertain all Comers, to be seen and worshipped ; from Nine till Midnight, amidst his principal Men in more Familiarity, being below among them.

All the Policy of his State, is to keep the greatest Men about him, or to pay them afar off liberally. There is no Council, but every Officer gives the King his Opinion apart.

Extract of another Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

BEFORE the Inundation of *Temer* the Great, that is, *Tamerlain*, the ninth Ancestor of this King, these Countries were govern'd by divers Heathen petty Princes, worshipping all Sorts of Creatures after their several Manners.

Tamerlain's

Tamerlain's Offspring brought in the Knowledge of *Mabomet*, but imposed it on none by the Law of Conquest, leaving Consciences at Liberty. So that the Natives from the Circumcision brought in by the *Mabometans*, called them *Moguls*, or Chief of the Circumcised. Among the *Moguls* there are many strict *Mabometans*, many that follow *Hali* his Son, and other later Prophets, who have their *Xerifes*, *Mulbaes*, and Priests, their Mosques, Religious Votaries, Washings, Praying, and Ceremonies without End. And as for Penitents, no Sect in the World can shew such strange Examples, nor boast of such voluntary Poverty, Punishments, Sufferings, and Chastisements as these, who are all esteem'd holy Men, but of a mixt Religion, not upright with their Prophet. The *Gentiles* are of more Sorts, some valiant good Soldiers, drinking Wine, eating Hogs Flesh, but worshipping the Figure of a Beast. Some who will not touch the Flesh that is not holy by Imputation; others that will not eat any Thing that ever had Life, nor kill the Vermin that bites them, nor drink in the same Cup with those that do, superstitious in Washing, and most zealous in their Profession; but all of them ascribe a Sort of Divinity to their River *Ganges*, at which once a Year 40 or 50000 meet, and cast in Gold and Silver for an Oblation. In like Manner they reverence a Pig's Head in a *Pagod* near this City, and all living Cows, and some other Beasts and Creatures. These have their *Pagods*, and Holy Men, Prophets, Witches and Soothsayers, and all other Impostures of the Devil. The *Mabometan Mulbaes* know somewhat in Philosophy and the Mathematicks, are great Astrologers, and can talk of *Aristotle*, *Euclid*, *Averroes*, and other Authors. The learned Tongue is the *Arabian*. In this Confusion they continued till the Time of *Ezbar Sha*, Father to this King, without much Knowledge of Christianity. *Ezbar Sha* being a Prince by Nature just and good, inquisitive after Novelty, curious of new Opinions, and excelling in many Virtues, especially in Piety and Reverence towards his Parents, call'd in three Jesuits from *Goa*, the Chief of whom was *Jerom Xaverius*, a *Navarois*. After their Arrival he heard them discourse with much Satisfaction, and dispute of Religion;

ligion ; and caused Father *Xaverius* to write a Book in Defence of his Religion against both *Moors* and *Gentiles*, which when finished, he read in every Night, and had some Part discuss'd. Finally he granted them his Letters Patent to build, preach, teach, convert, and to use all their Rites and Ceremonies as freely as in *Rome*, bestowing on them Means to erect their Churches and Places of Devotion. In this Grant he gave Liberty to all Sorts of Men to become Christians, even to his own Court and Blood, professing it should be no Cause of Disfavour. *Ezbar Sha* himself continued a *Mahometan*, yet he began to make a Breach into the Law ; for considering that *Mahomet* was but a Man, and a King, as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a Prophet himself. This Defection of the King spread not far, a certain Awe with-held him, and so he died in the formal Profession of his Sect, *Jeban Guire Sha*, his Son, the present King, being the Issue of this new Fancy, and never circumcised, bred up without any Religion at all, continues so to this Hour, and is an Atheist. Sometimes he will profess himself a Mahometan, but always observes the Holy-days and does all Ceremonies with the *Gentiles*. He is pleased with all Religions, but loves none that changes ; and falling into his Father's Conceit, has dared to proceed further in it, and profess himself for the main of his Religion to be a greater Prophet than *Mahomet*, and has formed to himself a new one, being a Mixture of all others, which many have received with such Superstition, that they will not eat till they have saluted him in the Morning ; for which Purpose he comes at Sun-rising to a Window open to a great Plain before his House, where Multitudes attend him. When the *Moors* about him talk of *Mahomet*, he will sooth them ; but is glad when any one will lash out against him. Of Christ he never utters any disrespectful Words, nor do any of all these Sects ; which is a wonderful secret Working of God's Truth, and worth observing.

As for the new-planted Christian Church, he confirmed and enlarged its Privileges, spending two Hours every Night for a Year in hearing Disputes ; often dropping Words of
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his Conversion, but to a wicked Purpose. To give the more Hope he delivered many Youths into the Hands of Father *Francisco Corfi* still Resident here, to teach them to read and write *Portuguese*, and to instruct them in Human Learning, and in the Law of Christ. To that Purpose the Father kept a School some Years, to which the King sent two Princes his Brothers Sons, who being brought up in the Knowledge of God, and his Son our blessed Saviour, were solemnly baptized in the Church of *Agra*, with great Pomp; being first carried up and down all the City on Elephants in Triumph: And this by the King's express Order, who would often examine them to see what Progress they made, and seemed well pleased with them. This made many bend towards the same Way, being ignorant of his Majesty's Intention; others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in Policy to render those Children odious to the *Mooers* for their Conversion, the Strength of his Estate consisting in them: But all Men mistook his Design, which was thus discovered. When these and some other Children were settled, as was thought, in the Christian Religion, and had learnt the Principles thereof, as to marry but one Wife, not to be coupled with Infidels, &c. the King set the Boys to ask *Portuguese* Wives of the Jesuits; who thinking it only an idle Motion of their own, chid them, and suspected no more: But that being the End of their Conversion to get Women for the King, and no Care being taken in it, the two Princes came to the Jesuits, and delivered up their Crosses, and all other Tokens of Religion, declaring they would be no longer Christians, because the King of *Portugal* sent them no Presents nor Wives, as they expected. The Fathers seeing this, began to doubt there was more in it than the Boys discovered; especially seeing their Confidence that had cast off the Awe of Pupils; and examining the Matter, they confess'd the King commanded them. The Jesuits refused to receive the Crosses, answering they had been given by his Majesty's Order, and they would not take Notice of any such Surrender from Boys, but bid them desire the King to send one of those who are, according to Order, to deliver all his Majesty's Commands, whose Words

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are by Privilege a sufficient Warrant, and then they would accept of them; hoping the King would not discover himself to any of his Officers in this poor Plot. The Boys returned with this Message, which enraged the King; but being desirous to break up the School, and withdraw the Youth without Noise, he bid them call the Jesuits to the Womens Door, where by a Lady he gave the Order, and without ever taking Notice since of any Thing, his Kinsmen were recall'd, and are now absolute *Moors*, without any Taste of their first Faith: And here ended the Conversion of these Infidels.

I will add another Relation, and so conclude, Not long since the Jesuits House and Church being burnt, the Crucifix remain'd untouch'd, which was given out for a Miracle, and much talk'd of. The King, who never lets slip any Opportunity of new Talk, or Novelties, hearing of this Accident, calls the Jesuit, and questions him about it. He answers ambiguously; whereupon his Majesty ask'd, whether he did not desire to convert him; and being answer'd in the Affirmative, reply'd, *You speak of your great Miracles, and of many done in the Name of your Prophet; if you will cast the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a Fire before me, if it burn not I will become a Christian.* The Jesuit refused the Trial, as unjust, answering, that God was not tied to the Call of Man, that it was a Sin to tempt him, and that he wrought Miracles according to his own Will; yet he offered to cast himself into the Fire for a Proof of his Faith, which the King would not allow of.





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